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56TH CONGRESS,)
1st Session.)

SENATE.

(DOCUMENT
(No. 456.)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

UPON THE

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUES

OF

THOMAS H. BENTON AND FRANCIS P. BLAIR

PRESENTED BY

THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE,
1900.

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CONCURRENT RESOLUTION.

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That there be printed and bound of the proceedings in Congress upon the acceptance of the statues of the late Thomas H. Benton and Francis P. Blair, presented by the State of Missouri, sixteen thousand five hundred copies, of which five thousand shall be for the use of the Senate, ten thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, and the remaining one thousand five hundred shall be for the use and distribution by the Governor of Missouri; and the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to have printed an engraving of said statues to accompany said proceedings, said engravings to be paid for out of the appropriation for the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Passed the Senate May 31, 1900.

Passed the House June 6, 1900.

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THE END OF THE WORLD

STATUES OF BENTON



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ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUES OF THOMAS H. BENTON AND FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE

JANUARY 18, 1899.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I desire to ask unanimous consent for the present consideration of the resolution which I send to the Clerk's desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Missouri of the statues of THOMAS H. BENTON and FRANCIS P. BLAIR, erected in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, be made the special order for Saturday, February 4, at 3 o'clock p. m.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

The question was taken; and the resolution was agreed to.

FEBRUARY 4, 1899.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will read the special order.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the exercises appropriate to the reception and acceptance from the State of Missouri of the statues of THOMAS H. BENTON and FRANCIS P. BLAIR, erected in the old Hall of the House of Representatives, be made the special order for Saturday, February 4, at 3 o'clock p. m.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I will ask the Clerk to read the following letter from the executive of the State of Missouri

6 *Proceedings of the House on the Acceptance of the*

The Clerk read as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In the year 1895 the general assembly of the State of Missouri passed an act making an appropriation to have statues made of THOMAS H. BENTON and FRANCIS P. BLAIR, to be placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol, at Washington. In the act referred to, William J. Stone, Odin Guitar, Peter L. Foy, B. B. Cahoon, O. H. Spencer, and James H. Birch were constituted a commission to have the statues made and properly placed. I am now informed by the commissioners that the statues are completed and ready to be presented to Congress.

I have the honor, therefore, as governor of Missouri, to present to the Government of the United States, through the Congress, the statues of the distinguished statesmen named and to ask that they may be assigned a place in the hall dedicated to such uses at the Capitol.

Very respectfully,

LON V. STEPHENS, *Governor.*

MR. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I offer the following resolution.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri offers the following resolution, which will be read by the Clerk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of Missouri for providing and furnishing statues of THOMAS HART BENTON, a deceased person, who has been a citizen thereof and illustrious for his historic renown and for distinguished civic services, and of FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, a deceased person, who has been a citizen thereof, and illustrious for his historic renown and for distinguished civic and military services.

Resolved, That the statues be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions duly authenticated be transmitted to the governor of the State of Missouri.

MR. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, there are some gentlemen present, and others absent, who wish to print remarks in the Record on the subject of the resolution, and I therefore ask unanimous consent of the House that they have leave to do so.

THE SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri asks unanimous consent that members may be allowed to print in the Record remarks on the subject of the resolution. Is there objection? [After a pause.] The Chair hears none.

ADDRESS OF MR DOCKERY, OF MISSOURI

Mr. Speaker, Congress having by the act of July 2, 1864, invited each of the States to present statues, not exceeding two in number, in marble or bronze, of deceased persons who have been distinguished citizens, and who, on account of civil or military services, are deemed worthy of national commemoration in Statuary Hall in the National Capitol, the State of Missouri, in the fullness of time, has availed herself of the invitation, and has presented the two marble statues which we to-day formally accept on behalf of the Federal Government.

Various other States of the Union have already presented, from time to time, statues of their distinguished departed sons: Virginia, one, of George Washington; Massachusetts, two, of Samuel Adams and John Winthrop; Connecticut, of Roger Sherman and Jonathan Trumbull; Rhode Island, of Nathanael Greene and Roger Williams; Vermont, of Ethan Allen and Jacob Collamer; New Hampshire, of Daniel Webster and John Stark; Maine, of William King; New York, of George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston; Pennsylvania, of John P. G. Muhlenberg and Robert Fulton; New Jersey, of Richard Stockton and Philip Kearny; Ohio, of James A. Garfield and William Allen; Illinois, of James Shields; Michigan, of Lewis Cass, and Wisconsin, of Père James Marquette.

By the act of the legislature of Missouri, approved April 8, 1895, a fund was appropriated and a commission constituted, comprising Governor William J. Stone, chairman; Peter L. Foy, esq., of the city of St. Louis; Gen. Odon Guitar, of Boone County; Judge O. M. Spencer, of Buchanan; Hon. B. B. Cahoon, of St. Francois, and Col. James H. Birch, of Clinton, who were directed to have executed statues of THOMAS H. BENTON and

FRANCIS P. BLAIR. That commission discharged their functions with care and complete success, and under their painstaking supervision models were selected and the sculptures executed in marble by the artist, Mr. Alexander Doyle, of New York City.

Mr. Speaker, it is with special pride that Missouri contributes to our national pantheon these memorials of two of her most illustrious sons, BENTON and BLAIR. Their names and their deeds not only have wrought especial blessing and reflected lasting renown upon their own imperial Commonwealth, but they are the heritage of the whole country as well; and as such their marble images worthily find a place in yonder hall, side by side with those of others of the nation's noblest children—pioneers, warriors, statesmen, inventors, benefactors—heroes all.

Both BENTON and BLAIR rendered most distinguished service in the National Legislature—BENTON for five terms in the Senate and one term in the House, and BLAIR for parts of four terms in the House and part of a term in the Senate; so that with peculiar fitness their sculptured images will stand yonder and be viewed by generations to come, hard by the scenes of their legislative struggles and triumphs.

In BENTON we behold the mightiest son of the early West—the most colossal figure in the march of trans-Mississippi development, striding onward head and shoulders above all his contemporaries. It was not my good fortune to have known him, or my privilege ever to have seen him; but his grand, manly character, his splendid achievements in public life, and his princely qualities as a private citizen, as I have learned them from the lips of others and as I find them chronicled in our history, command my unstinted admiration. Himself a pioneer, I take him to have been the recognized exponent of the great pioneer class, hardy, enterprising, irresistible; the

ablest expounder of their views, and the most typical representative of their aspirations. In his day and generation he was the greatest champion of the West and its interests, and the most zealous advocate of every movement for the extension of the western boundaries of the Republic, beholding with clearer vision than most of his fellows, through the mist of coming years, something of the later grandeur and glory which the nation has attained.

And yet, despite the strength of his local and sectional predispositions, his aggressive patriotism was national and all-embracing; the love of his great heart comprehended alike the North, the South, the East, and the West. He gloried in the American Union, and his marvelous endowments were always freely offered to the service of his whole country. His teachings, in their effect upon the people of his own State, did perhaps as much as any other agency to keep Missouri still within the sisterhood of the Union when her Southern neighbors left it: they formed the groundwork upon which BLAIR afterwards so brilliantly operated to hold the State fast to her old moorings.

There were giants in those days, and BENTON was one of them, towering amid the greatest of his colleagues—Webster, Clay, and Calhoun. When it is remembered that, from the time of Monroe down to the time of Buchanan, he exercised a controlling sway over Western politics such as few statesmen ever did, it is not surprising that he should have left behind him such ineffaceable and monumental marks of his greatness. During his service in the Senate that body was admittedly the most influential legislative body in the world. The nation's greatest political chiefs were members of it; and in it, from the time of Jackson, BENTON stood forth continuously a commanding figure and the most eminent representative of Jacksonian Democracy.

The Republic has never produced a statesman more valiantly loyal and true to his convictions than BENTON. His faculties always responded to the call of a great emergency. His metal on such an occasion always rang true and clear. He grew steadily wiser as he proceeded in his career. With his developing maturity he became better equipped for the performance of yeoman service to the public, and it has been said of him that, during the last period of his life—the heroic period—he rendered greater service to the nation than any of his fellow Senators.

In addition to his herculean achievements in statecraft, his attainments in other directions attested his amazing industry, versatility, and liberal culture. Daniel Webster once remarked that BENTON knew more political facts than any other man he ever met, and possessed a wonderful fund of general knowledge. He not only left his powerful impress upon the events in which he was an actor during his thirty-two years' service in Congress, but he left to posterity two veritable monuments attesting his ceaseless activity and study—his two great literary productions, the "Thirty Years' View" and his "Abridgment of the Debates of Congress from 1789 to 1850"—both of them acknowledged to be indispensable to the student of American political and governmental history.

Most happily has the sculptor modeled forth his physical lineaments and suggested the qualities that characterized the man. From a study of the artist's handiwork we can the better understand what good sturdy stuff BENTON was made of—his magnificent physique, his tireless energy, his masterful intellect, his indomitable will. From a contemplation of that marble figure we can fancy his aggressive courage, his stern sincerity, his earnestness, tenacity, and uprightness; we can picture in our minds what a proud, resolute, fearless, self-reliant hero he must have been in life, and we can join in

humbly doing him honor for the immeasurable good he wrought for his country in his own generation and for all the generations after him.

Mr. Speaker, in a most remarkable way the life work of BENTON and of BLAIR merged together, to the incalculable benefit of our common State; the achievements of the younger of the two linked themselves with and supplemented those of the elder. When BENTON died, in 1858, the tide of Southern sentiment was rising like a flood, and but for the living influence of the veteran statesman, then still in death, Missouri would probably have been overwhelmed by that tide. And notwithstanding that potent influence, it would yet have been overwhelmed had not BLAIR, courageous and preternaturally energetic, intervened at the right moment, and with the sagacity of genius, to direct and utilize that influence. His lofty patriotism, spirit, and capacity saved the State to the Union and left her free at the close of the civil strife to march onward without interruption in the paths of progress.

To have accomplished this was in itself an extraordinary achievement for any man. But BLAIR rested not there. He plunged with knightly ardor into the Titanic struggle then beginning, and ere long became a major-general of volunteers and a corps commander of high efficiency. He was the most illustrious soldier that Missouri gave to the Union; indeed, he was regarded as one of the most successful of all the chiefs of the volunteer army.

Meanwhile he served also with distinction in Congress; and in the Thirty-seventh Congress, as chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, he reported and pressed those essential measures that equipped and maintained the Union armies in the field.

He was a hero in council, in the camp, and on the field of battle. And after the war, voluntarily renouncing the grateful

political rewards that would have freely come to him from his own political party, he devoted his energies to the heroic and magnanimous but unpopular task of protecting his late enemies from injustice at the hands of his own triumphant and intolerant partisans. In that work of self-abnegation, viewed calmly after this lapse of time, the moral grandeur of the hero shines forth with dazzling luster. A hero in the tribulations of war, he became ten times a hero in the tribulations of returning peace. In the face of frenzied calumny, furious partisanship, and mob violence, his manly heart demanded justice for his beaten foes; and with undaunted personal courage, with coolness and bravery almost unexampled, he espoused the cause of the weak, the disfranchised, the tax ridden, and the downtrodden, and sought by practical means to bind up and heal the wounds of the recent strife.

Like others of the proscribed class who witnessed his intrepid conduct in behalf of my oppressed people on the most trying occasions, I may say that, in adding this humble tribute to his fame, it is not prompted by a mere formal or prefatory impulse, but by a sentiment of sincere personal affection. The political and civic honors that would have come to him immediately following the war, but which he denied to himself, and the later political success which he would doubtless have attained had his life been spared, are more than compensated by the fervent love which all the people of Missouri cherish for his memory. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Speaker, I desire to append to my remarks and to incorporate in the Record a beautiful tribute to the memory of BENTON and BLAIR, written by Hon. J. H. Birch, of Plattsburg, Mo., one of the State commissioners, and transmitted to me for that purpose. It reads:

It is deemed proper that the only native-born Missourian on the commission, who knew both of these distinguished citizens during their lives, should be heard on this interesting occasion. I shall speak, therefore,

from personal knowledge. Sixty years ago Colonel BENTON and my father were friendly associates. Our home, in the village where we lived, was occasionally honored by his visits. Sitting and listening to his conversation, I wondered that I was permitted to exist in such a presence. In after years, when grown to manhood, and bitter personal enmity had arisen between them, I recognized the fact that Benton—for it was thus he pronounced his name—was the most powerful political factor in the great West.

No one favored him in appearance, manners, or personal characteristics, and but few ever reached his level in intellectual power, information, or influence. His was an isolated personality. He had but few, if any, confidants. He recognized but two conditions in public life between men—leadership and followers. He knew his own fitness to rule, and demanded that others obey. He sought no advice, and permitted no dissent; and criticism of his political infallibility resulted in personal and political ostracism. If he ever forgot or forgave an intended injury, only his Creator knew it. If he ever had an emotion in connection with his ambition, it was kept as hidden as the thoughts of a Hindoo's god. Had he lived in the days of the Caesars, there would have been another Brutus. Had he commanded the Roman armies when Palmyra fell, he might have spared Zenobia in recognition of her great prowess and character, but she would never have been carried through the streets of Rome attached to his triumphal car, for in such a pageantry BENTON deemed the presence of no one necessary—if BENTON was there.

His courage was equal to every emergency, and was always under the most perfect control; but it was as cold and as merciless as the heart of a matadore. In its use he made but one mistake, when by it he forced his enemies to conspire to kill him, that they might live. To accomplish his political destruction they contrived to have passed through the general assembly of Missouri during the winter of 1848-49 the celebrated Jackson resolutions, instructing him how to vote on the great question of that day then pending in the Senate—the resolutions of Mr. Calhoun. They knew he would not obey them, because, first, of the disunion doctrine contained in them, and, second, of personal resentment at the audacity of attempting to instruct BENTON on such a subject.

As was expected, BENTON defied the general assembly of Missouri, charging it with misrepresenting the people of the State; and, issuing his appeal to the people, came home in May, 1849, and opened a campaign in person, which never closed until he was defeated for governor in 1856. Although quite 75 years of age, yet he canvassed the State until election day in a carriage, making speeches every day. If he ever suffered mental anguish at the waning of his political fortunes, he hid it beneath that iron face with the stoicism of a martyr. Old as he was, he carried with him on the stump that imperial presence which, in his younger days, had awed multitudes into silence, and neither discomfort nor pain brought complaint from his lips.

If anybody doubts the accuracy of the photograph thus drawn, let him look at that statue. The sculptor, as if by inspiration, caught the secret force of his individuality and drew it in its strongest lines, representing him in the strength of his matured manhood, at the zenith of his political power, and clothing him with that air of arrogance which, like the waves of the sea breaking upon the rock-bound shore, forbade the approach of those who sought to cower at his feet.

Had the sculptor failed in this respect, the spirit of BENTON would have haunted him forever; for it can be said of BENTON that his life was as devoid of hypocrisy and of pretense as it was of love-making to gain popular favor. Like Cromwell, his wish was to be painted as he was—to be seen and known among men as a man of indomitable will, of great force of character, with a steady and strong purpose in life, guided by a brain and aided by an intellect which enabled him to scale the highest peaks in the great range of human possibilities.

During the last years of his life, secluded from the world, he took the most ample revenge upon his enemies, for he left behind him the greatest political history of the century, his *Thirty Years' View*.

And now, nearly fifty years after the people of Missouri had driven him from his seat in the highest councils of the nation, which for thirty years he had adorned with his great character, with fidelity to his State and his country, they order, without a single dissenting voice, that his name and his memory be forever perpetuated in marble, in the Capitol of his country, in the very building where he won his enduring fame.

Gen. FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, who is associated with Colonel BENTON in this memorial dedication, was his great friend and youthful associate. At his feet he learned those lessons which guided his political conduct in after life. In personal characteristics, action, and manners they were as different as they were in appearance. I knew General BLAIR well. He was my elder, but our ages enabled us to fraternize with ease. In early life, he being a follower of BENTON, we naturally separated; but, as the years advanced, the great political controversies which overwhelmed the country brought us close together, and, becoming the warmest of friends, our lines of life ran close together.

We were comrades during the war with Mexico. He was a private and I was a corporal. We were comrades during the "war between the States." He was a major-general and I a simple colonel. In the great political struggle which swept over Missouri in 1870—the sole issue being the re-enfranchisement of the people, and which led to the overthrow of the Republicans in the State—we were comrades again, and that winter found us both members of the general assembly of Missouri.

In the Senatorial caucus which followed a most exciting and bitterly-contested ballot, I moved and carried the proposition to make his nomination unanimous. Before the vote was counted and announced, and in the joint session of the two houses, my name coming first on the senate roll, I had the honor of casting the first vote for him for United States Senator.

By a singular coincidence, being in Jefferson City three years ago, the

distinguished chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, now representing his country as consul-general at Montreal, honored me with the request that I draft the bill which he introduced and passed through the general assembly, and under the commands whereof these statues were executed. Being named as one of the commissioners, I am proud of the privilege which enables me thus to garland BLAIR'S statue with a wreath, which at least is embalmed with the perfume of personal friendship.

General BLAIR needs no eulogy. That statue is the embodiment of the will of the people of Missouri, and is the most perfect representation of a man I ever saw in marble. He was a *Cœur de Lion* in courage and knightly manner. No one in his presence ever acknowledged a wrong done him but it was accepted with a princely graciousness that instantly dissolved the self-abasement that was in the act. His courage was part of his soul, and, filling his body, came at his call like an electric spirit, borne on the great blood-waves of his heart; and the necessity for its use having passed, it went back with his blood, leaving no rankling thorns behind!

Such a spirit naturally drew around him as bold and as determined a following as ever marched beneath a highland banner, and, as a consequence, a host of enemies equally bold and resolute; and as a result, the political battlefields of Missouri after the war rivaled in many respects, except the clash of arms, the real battlefields which preceded them. BLAIR was the master-spirit in those campaigns, and victory came as the result of his leadership. Yet so bravely did he lead that the fierce spirit of personal antagonism passed away with the settlement of the question. His selection for the honors of this day was equally unanimous with BENTON'S.

It was not in consequence of the absence of great men in Missouri that BLAIR was thus honored. There has been no time when her voice has been silent during the progress of the great controversies which have arisen since her admission into the Union. There sleep within her borders many men who had but few peers, whether on the battlefield or in the halls of Congress, any one of whom Missouri would proudly honor; but it was the life and later services of BLAIR which evoked such a combination of public sentiment that all other claims were merged in his; and to-day Missouri presents the statues of two of her citizens who laid down the duties of this life only in obedience to the bugle call from the other shore.

It was a grand and patriotic conception which led to the dedication of that Hall as the pantheon of so many American heroes. It had been hallowed by the presence of the great spirits who cemented the foundations of American liberty, and it is proper that the unborn generations who shall tread its sacred floor may read the history of the past in the silent statues gathered there. No other spot would have been so appropriate, and no less a tribute to its historic memories would have been proper.

And now we leave these statues there, to remain forever, sheltered by that historic roof, and protected by that flag which has grown to be the emblem of the power of the greatest people of the earth.

ADDRESS OF MR. CLARK, OF MISSOURI.

Mr. Speaker, when Governor B. Gratz Brown, one of the most brilliant of all Missouri statesmen, on a historic occasion said, "Missouri is a grand State and deserves to be grandly governed," he uttered an immortal truth. He might have added with equal veracity, "She deserves to be grandly represented in the Congress of the United States," and she has been in the main, particularly in the Senate, where paucity of members and length of tenure more surely fix a man in the public eye than service in the House.

First and last, Missouri has commissioned twenty-one different men to represent her at the other end of the Capitol, in the less numerous branch of the National Legislature, in the Chamber of the Conscript Fathers, in "the Upper House of Congress," improperly so called; or, as Senator Morgan, of Alabama, would have it, "Ambassadors of a sovereign State" to the Federal Government. Beginning with David Barton and THOMAS HART BENTON, her pioneer Senators, who at once attracted general attention and challenged universal admiration by reason of their commanding talents, down to this very hour, when in the persons of Francis Marion Cockrell and George Graham Vest she holds such an enviable position in that conspicuous arena, Missouri has taken second place to none of her sister States.

These twenty-one Senators naturally divide themselves into two classes—the Barton line and the BENTON line, fifteen in the former and only six in the latter.

In the Barton line are Barton himself, Alexander Buckner, Lewis F. Linn, David R. Atchison, James S. Green, Waldo P. Johnson, Robert Wilson, B. Gratz Brown, Charles D. Drake,

Daniel T. Jewett, FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Lewis V. Bogy, David H. Armstrong, James Shields, and George G. Vest.

In the BENTON line are BENTON himself, Henry S. Geyer, Truett Polk, John B. Henderson, Carl Schurz, and Francis Marion Cockrell.

Lucky the man who gets into Barton's seat; luckier, far luckier, the man who secures that of THOMAS H. BENTON, as the precedents indicate a longer public life for him.

An examination of the dates at which Missourians entered and left the Senate will disclose two curious facts in Missouri history. She is the only State that ever elected two men for five full consecutive terms to the Senate of the United States—"six Roman lustrums," as BENTON was wont to boast in his pompous way. These were BENTON and Cockrell. She was the first State that had only one Senator for any considerable length of time through failure to elect another. By reason of the unrelenting warfare between the Bentonites and the anti-Bentonites the legislature chosen in 1854 never could and never did elect a Senator, as it was in duty bound to do, so that for two entire years Henry S. Geyer was Missouri's only Senator.

What is more, the governor did not appoint or attempt to appoint anyone to fill the vacancy, nobody then dreaming that the governor had such power. But in these later days several States have followed Missouri's example in failing to elect Senators; and, strange to say, divers governors have insisted on the right to fill vacancies by appointment under similar circumstances, until finally the Senate, after lengthy and ponderous debate, solemnly vindicated the wisdom and knowledge of constitutional law possessed by the governor of Missouri in 1855 and 1856, Sterling Price, by declaring that a governor has no right to make such ad interim appointment.

Of Missouri's 21 Senators there were 14 Democrats : Whigs, and 6 Republicans. Of 156 years of Senatorial representation

to which she has been entitled, 2 were not used, 6 fell to Whigs, 22 to Republicans, and 126 to Democrats.

This roster of Missouri Senators is an array of names of which the nation, no less than the State, may well be proud. There are many great men—scarcely a small one—in the list.

Missouri is proud of her immeasurable physical resources, which will one day make her facile princeps among her sisters; but there is something else of which she is prouder still, and that is her splendid citizenship, consisting at this day of nearly 4,000,000 industrious, intelligent, patriotic, progressive, law-abiding, God-fearing people.

When questioned as to her riches she could with propriety imitate the example and quote the words of Cornelia, the mother of the heroic Gracchi, and, pointing to her children, say truthfully and pridefully, "These are my jewels."

In sending THOMAS HART BENTON and the younger FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR to forever represent her in the great American Valhalla, where the effigies of a nation's immortal worthies do congregate, Missouri made a most happy and a most fitting selection from among a host of her distinguished sons. These two men complement each other to an extraordinary degree. Really their lives formed but one career—a great career—a career of vast import to the State and nation. Both were Southerners by birth; both were soldiers of the Republic; both members of this House; both Senators of the United States; both added largely to American renown; both left spotless reputations as a heritage to their countrymen.

The dominant passion of these two Missouri Titans was an absorbing love of the Union. To its preservation they devoted their great energies of mind and heart and body. To that end they were not only theoretically willing to spend and be spent, but were actually and literally spent. In that warfare they

sacrificed all those things which most men hold dear. In that cause BENTON went to his political death, and FRANK BLAIR rendered himself a physical wreck. In their vocabulary there was no such word as "concession" or as "compromise." In very truth they took their lives in their hands and fought the battle to the bitter end.

Under the law each State has the right to place the statues of two—and only two—illustrious American citizens in Statuary Hall; but in this regard Missouri has been more fortunate than most of her sister States, for, while she can place only two there herself, three of her soldier-statesmen stand there in bronze and marble as perpetual reminders of her glory. In addition to BENTON and BLAIR, through the action of Illinois there stands Gen. James Shields, that illustrious Irish-American, a hero of two wars, and the only man that ever did, or in all human probability ever will, represent three States of the Union in the Senate of the United States.

Upon the base of his statue in yonder hall are blazoned the coats of arms of Illinois, Minnesota, and Missouri, in whose service he spent his life, but as he wrought for the whole country in the Senate and in the field, his fame belongs to the whole country, in whose cause he freely shed his blood.

Either BENTON or BLAIR is a sufficient theme for any orator.

I shall confine my remarks, in the main, to the latter, with only incidental reference to the former, leaving the great contemporary of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun to my colleagues.

In this era of good feeling it may seem ungracious to talk much about the civil war and may appear like "sweet bells jangled, out of tune;" but this is a historic occasion, FRANK BLAIR is a historic personage, and the truth should be told about him. All his deeds with which history will concern itself are those which he performed in matters pertaining to

that unhappy period—either before, during, or after. A speech about him and without mention of these things would be like the play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out.

HIS BIRTHPLACE.

Born in the lovely blue-grass region of Kentucky, reared in Washington City, in the excitement and swirl of national politics, spending his manhood's days in St. Louis, the great city of the Iron Crown, his opportunities for growth were of the best, and he developed according to the expectations of his most sanguine friends.

Within a radius of 75 miles of Lexington, Ky., where FRANK BLAIR first looked forth upon this glorious world, more orators of renown were born or have exercised their lungs and tongues than upon any other plat of rural ground of the same size upon the habitable globe.

Whether the inspiring cause is the climate, the soil, the water, the limestone, or the whisky, I do not know, but the fact remains.

Within that circle are the counties of Franklin, Woodford, Scott, Fayette, Mercer, Bourbon, Nelson, Washington, Anderson, Owen, Shelby, Marion, Madison, Jessamine, Montgomery, Clark, and Boyle.

Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden, the Marshalls, the Breckinridges, the Prestons, the Shelys, the McAfees, the Browns, the Blairs, the Buckners, the Deshas, the Houstons, Old Bob Letcher, the Harlans, the Wickliffs, Old Ben Hardin, Leslie Coombs, John Rowan, the Thompsons, the Davises, the Turners, Richard H. Menifee, the Goodloes, the Hansons, Henry Bascom, John Pope, the Johnstons, Chief Justice Robertson, Cassius M. Clay, and his brother Brutus Junius, Joe Blackburn, George Graham Vest, Henry Watterson, J. Proctor Knott, Jim

McKenzie, and a host of choice spirits have roused the multitude and made the welkin ring. If such a delineator of character as William Makepeace Thackeray could have known the men who first and last have been around Lexington, and given us his impressions of them, or if such a biographer as James Boswell could have followed lovingly at their heels to record their sayings, we would have the most entrancing book that human eye ever gazed upon.

Philosophers may say what they please, but man is largely a creature of environment, and with his surroundings from infancy, it was inevitable that FRANK BLAIR would devote his life to politics.

RISE OF THE BLAIRS.

The rise of the Blairs, father and sons, to great political eminence and power forms a most curious and interesting chapter in our history.

The foundation of their career was laid by an anonymous article written by Francis P. Blair, sr., for mental recreation purely, and printed in the Frankfort, Ky., Argus, in the incipient stage of the war of extermination waged by Andrew Jackson against the old Bank of the United States, which article luckily fell under Jackson's eagle eye and attracted his attention. It may be doubted whether any other anonymous communication to any newspaper in any country since Guttenberg invented movable types was ever productive of so many and such far-reaching consequences.

In that elder day, while the American newspaper was still in its infancy, every Administration had an "organ" at the seat of government, supported in the main by public pay and by subscriptions from Federal officials. Subscribe, resign, or be kicked out were the alternatives presented to all holders of governmental positions, from Secretary of State down to the spittoon

cleaners. So that to edit the organ was, in the popular parlance of this day, to have a decidedly soft snap.

Until his quarrel with John C. Calhoun, a quarrel which wrecked more lives and was more prolific of calamities than the Trojan war, Jackson's organ was the United States Telegraph, owned and edited by Gen. Duff Green. As long as he was faithful to his irascible and exacting chief, he lived in tall clover.

But early in that historic feud Duff began to show signs of ratting to Calhoun, whereupon Jackson, with characteristic promptitude, began looking for another organist, and he found him accidentally, in the most unlikely person and most unexpected place—certainly the greatest, the fiercest, the most courageous, the most loyal to his chief, the most puissant organist President ever had, Francis Preston Blair, sr., author of the anonymous article aforesaid, clerk of a court at Frankfort, Ky., the neighbor, relative, and quondam supporter of Henry Clay, "the great commoner." To lay on and spare not the enemies of Andrew Jackson, personal or political, to smite them hip and thigh, to draw, quarter, and break them on the wheel, to scalp and tomahawk them, to flay them alive inch by inch, to roast them at the stake, to gibbet them before high Heaven was a labor of love to that brave, brainy, but modest Kentuckian.

Recreant Democrats were the pet aversions—the bêtes noire—of this man whose pen was dipped in aqua fortis. For them he had no bowels of compassion; toward them he was absolutely merciless. According to his logic, desertion of Jackson was high treason to the country. For all such the penalty was death without benefit of clergy. When even so illustrious a personage as Col. William R. King, of Alabama, subsequently Vice-President, once begged him to soften a savage attack upon an erring Democrat, Blair sternly replied: "No; let it tear his heart out!"

Blair was essentially and incorrigibly a hero worshipper; but it must be confessed that he had a hero worthy of the passionate love of all friends of human liberty, the matchless soldier who at New Orleans, with a handful of raw militia, in one glorious, rapturous hour slaughtered 2,600 Englishmen, defeated the picked veterans of the Peninsula who had snatched the iron crown of Charlemagne from the brazen brow of Napoleon, and lowered to the dust the towering pride of that mighty monarchy upon whose dominion the sun never sets and whose morning drumbeat encircles the globe.

No such popularity as Andrew Jackson's has been vouchsafed to an American President since George Washington was laid to rest on the banks of the Potomac, a popularity which abides to this day and which will continue until our race has run its course and until the wide firmament is gathered up as a scroll.

For twenty years all of the most serious and learned arguments of Whig statesmen were triumphantly and successfully answered by "Hurrah for Jackson!" and assuredly since the morning stars first sang together no man has better deserved being hurraed for than Old Hickory. The intense love which his followers bore him has always reminded me of the pathetic enthusiasm of the French soldier, sorely wounded, who, as Napoleon swept by at the head of the Old Guard, tore his shattered arm from his shoulder and waving it above his head shouted "Vive l'Empereur!"

Blair completely won the generous heart of Andrew Jackson, which in itself was a greater honor than could have been conferred by any patent of nobility. The insignia of the Order of the Thistle or of the Star and Garter, or of any other order, or of all others ever devised by the ingenuity of man or bestowed by the hand of any king, emperor, prince, czar, or potentate, it seems to me, would not give an American as much pride and pleasure as to be able to say truthfully, "I was beloved of

Andrew Jackson." If Blair loved Jackson, the iron soldier repaid that love in Scripture measure, heaped up, pressed down, and running over. Almost the last letter he ever wrote was to Blair, at a time when the Polk Administration was endeavoring to force him to sell them the Globe under the penalty of their starting an opposition paper. I here quote part of it, so highly honorable to both the writer and the recipient and so characteristic of the former. Even at this distant day one can scarcely read the closing sentence with dry eyes:

How loathsome—

Wrote Jackson—

it is to me to see an old friend laid aside, principles of justice and friendship forgotten, and all for the sake of policy, and the great Democratic party divided or endangered for policy. I can not reflect upon it with any calmness. Every point of it, upon scrutiny, turns to harm and disunion, and not one beneficial result can be expected from it. I will be anxious to know the result. If harmony is restored, and the Globe the organ, I will rejoice; if sold, to whom, and for what? Have, if you sell, the purchase money well secured. This may be the last letter I may be able to write you, but, live or die, I am your friend (and never deserted one from policy), and leave my papers and reputation in your keeping.

The parenthesis in that sentence explains the secret of Jackson's wondrous power over the minds and hearts of men. "Never deserted a friend from policy"—those be golden words. He might with exactest truth have enlarged the statement so as to read, "I never deserted either a friend or a principle from policy or for any other reason whatsoever."

The original of that letter is carefully preserved in a glass case in the Congressional Library, and should be regarded as one of the precious treasures of the archives of the Republic.

But this man, who swooped down upon Jackson's enemies with cruel beak and bloody talons to rend and tear them—this man, who in his capacity of editor was so masterful, inexorable, and so dreaded, who killed off a Senator, a Cabinet officer,

a minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary, or even an aspirant for the Presidency as ruthlessly as he would have impaled a fly—was in private life bashful in deportment, a fond husband, a doting father, a kindly and obliging friend.

SOLDIER.

FRANK BLAIR was a soldier of two wars. He received his "baptism of fire" during our brief but glorious conflict with Mexico, being a lieutenant in that small, heroic band of Missourians who, under Col. Alexander W. Doniphan, made the astounding march to Santa Fe, Chihuahua, Sacramento, and Monterey—an achievement which added an empire to the Union and which threw into the shade that far-famed performance of Xenophon and his ten thousand which has been acclaimed by the historians of twenty centuries.

In the civil war he began as a colonel, fought his way to a major-generalcy, and was pronounced by General Grant to be one of the two best volunteer officers in the service, John A. Logan, "the Black Eagle of Illinois," who married a Missouri wife, being the other. In Sherman's famous march to the sea BLAIR commanded a corps, and was considered the Marshal Ney of that army.

THE FIGHT FOR MISSOURI.

Early impressions are never effaced; and it may be—who knows?—that the fact that when a child he sat upon the knee of Andrew Jackson, received the kiss of hereditary friendship from his lips, and heard words of patriotism fall burning from his tongue determined his course in the awful days of '61, for Jackson himself, could he have returned to earth in the prime of life, could not have acted a sterner or more heroic part than did his foster son.

The fact that Andrew Jackson, THOMAS HART BENTON, and the elder Francis Preston Blair were sworn friends most probably caused young Frank to settle in St. Louis, a performance which, though little noted at the time, in all human probability kept Missouri in the Union and thereby defeated the efforts of the Southern people for independence; for had it not been for BLAIR'S cool courage, clear head, unquailing spirit, indefatigable industry, commanding influence, and rare foresight, the Southern sympathizers in Missouri would have succeeded in taking her into the Confederacy.

There never was in this world a struggle in which time was more the essence of things than in the fight for Missouri. The people were divided into something like three equal parts—one for the Union, another for secession, while the minds of the third were not made up, but were in a plastic condition. This halting, wavering third became decisive of the contest. To control it BLAIR and his opponents waged a battle royal. If, in the beginning, BLAIR could have aroused the Federal Government to a realization of the vast strategic importance of Missouri and to the necessity for early action, his task would have been easy. If, in the beginning, his antagonists could have aroused the Missouri legislature to a comprehension of the situation and could have induced the State authorities to seize the United States Arsenal at St. Louis before Gen. Nathaniel Lyon was placed in command, their task would have been easy; but when Lyon appeared upon the scene, their one golden opportunity was gone.

It was a colossal stake for which this master spirit played; nevertheless, understanding clearly the gravity of the game, he played it to the end with superb audacity and with nerves of steel—no hesitation, no equivocation, no mental reservation, no repining, no doubting, no backward glance on his part.

Without leave or license from anybody he organized and drilled in secret four regiments, mostly Germans, arming them with guns which he purchased with money begged by him from Unionists in the North, so that when Governor Jackson peremptorily declined to furnish the four regiments which constituted Missouri's quota under President Lincoln's first call for 75,000 volunteers, BLAIR promptly tendered by telegraph his four regiments which he had been for months secretly recruiting in St. Louis and had them mustered into the service. Not only that, but he tendered six more regiments, which were also accepted.

The Government offered him a brigadier's commission as commander of that brigade, which he gracefully and firmly declined in favor of Lyon—an act of generosity and self-abnegation unusual among men.

Time fought for BLAIR in this strange contest for possession of a State, for the preservation of the Republic.

Those who most effectually tied the hands of the secessionists and who unwittingly but most largely played into BLAIR's were the advocates of "armed neutrality"—certainly the most preposterous theory ever hatched in the brain of man. Who was its father can not now be definitely ascertained, as nobody is anxious to claim the dubious honor of its paternity. What it really meant may be shown by an incident that happened in the great historic county of Pike, where I now reside—a county which furnished one brigadier-general and five colonels to the Union Army and three colonels to the Confederate, with a full complement of officers and men.

Early in 1861 a "great "neutrality meeting" was held at Bowling Green, the county seat. Hon. William L. Gatewood, a prominent lawyer, a Virginian or Kentuckian by birth, an ardent Southern sympathizer, subsequently a State senator, was

elected chairman. The Pike County orators were out in full force, but chief among them was Hon. George W. Anderson, also a prominent lawyer, an East Tennessean by nativity, afterwards a colonel in the Union Army, State senator, and for four years a member of Congress. Eloquence was on tap and flowed freely. Men of all shades of opinion fraternized; they passed strong and ringing resolutions in favor of "armed neutrality," and "all went merry as a marriage bell."

Chairman Gatewood was somewhat mystified and not altogether satisfied by the harmonious proceedings; so, after adjournment sine die, he took Anderson out under a convenient tree and in his shrill tenor nervously inquired, "George, what does 'armed neutrality' mean, anyhow?" Anderson, in his deep bass, growled, "It means guns for the Union men and none for the rebels!" the truth and wisdom of which remark are now perfectly apparent. [Laughter.] So it was, verily. Anderson had hit the bull's-eye, and no mistake. If he had orated for an entire month, he could not have stated the case more luminously or more comprehensively. He had exhausted the subject. Before the moon had waxed and waned again the leaders of that "neutrality" love feast were hurrying to and fro, beating up for volunteers in every nook and corner in the county—some for service in the Union, others for service in the Confederate, army.

But it is proverbial that "hindsight is better than foresight." Men must be judged by their own knowledge at the time they acted, not by ours; by the circumstances with which they were surrounded, and not by those which environ us. What may appear unfathomable problems to the wise men of one generation may be clear as crystal to even the dullest of the succeeding generation. However ridiculous "armed neutrality," judged by the hard logic of events, may appear in the retrospect; however untenable we now know it to have been, the fact

nevertheless remains that it was honestly believed in and enthusiastically advocated by thousands of capable, brave, and honest men all over Kentucky and Missouri, many of whom afterwards won laurels on the battlefield and laid down their lives in one army or the other in defense of what they deemed right.

When we consider the men who were against BLAIR it is astounding that he succeeded. To say nothing of scores then unknown to fame, who were conspicuous soldiers in the Confederate army and who have since held high political position, arrayed against him were the governor of the State, Claiborne F. Jackson; the lieutenant-governor, Thomas C. Reynolds; ex-United States Senator and ex-Vice-President David R. Atchison; United States Senators Trusten Polk and James S. Green, the latter of whom had no superior in intellect or as a debater upon this continent; Waldo P. Johnson, elected to succeed Green in March, 1861, and the well-beloved ex-governor and ex-brigadier-general in the Mexican war, Sterling Price, by long odds the most popular man in the State.

No man between the two oceans drew his sword with more reluctance or used it with more valor than "Old Pap Price." The statement is not too extravagant or fanciful for belief that had he been the sole and absolute commander of the Confederates who won the battle of Wilson's Creek, he would have rescued Missouri from the Unionists.

The thing that enabled BLAIR to succeed was his settled conviction from the first that there would be war—a war of coercion. While others were hoping against hope that war could be averted or, at least, that Missouri could be kept out of it, even if it did come—while others were making constitutional arguments, while others were temporizing and dallying—he acted. Believing that the questions at issue could be settled only by the sword, and also believing in Napoleon's maxim

that "God fights on the side of the heaviest battalions," he grimly made ready for the part which he intended to play in the bloody drama.

"THE ARDUOUS GREATNESS OF THINGS DONE."

BLAIR was 5 feet 11 inches in height, straight as an Indian, of slender, wiry frame, hazel eyes, auburn hair, ruddy complexion, and aquiline nose. He was of what the phrenologists denominate the sanguine-nervous temperament. He was an optimist by nature and had unbounded confidence in himself and in Missourians, with whose capabilities, characteristics, sentiments, and prejudices he was as well acquainted as any man that ever lived.

On the 30th of May, 1861, in urging the President to authorize the enlistment of a large number of Missourians, he wrote these words, which, in the light of what happened in the succeeding four years, appear amazing:

We are well able—

He said—

to take care of ourselves in this State without assistance from elsewhere if authorized to raise a sufficient force within the State; and after that work is done we can take care of the secessionists from the Arkansas line to the Gulf, along the west shore of the Mississippi.

The most spectacular feature of the great Chicago national Republican convention of 1880 was Conkling's speech nominating Grant. That masterful oration will be read with rapture by millions yet unborn. It contained a single sentence which alone made it worthy of remembrance. In describing Grant, Conkling said:

His fame was born not alone of things written and said, but of the arduous greatness of things done.

The phrase "the arduous greatness of things done" was original with the brilliant New Yorker, and constitutes a rich

and permanent addition to our literature. It sticks to the memory like a burr. It fills a long-felt want. It applies to FRANK BLAIR as well as to the great captain in whose presence the whole world uncovered, for BLAIR's fame rests also largely on "the arduous greatness of things done."

Col. Thomas L. Snead, who was Price's chief of ordnance as well as adjutant-general of the State guard, who wrote *The Fight for Missouri*, one of the very best books about the civil war, in speaking of the battle of Boonville, pays this splendid and ungrudging tribute to BLAIR:

Insignificant as was this engagement in a military aspect, it was in fact a stunning blow to the Southern-rights people of the State, and one which did incalculable and unending injury to the Confederates. It was indeed the consummation of BLAIR's statesmanlike scheme to make it impossible for Missouri to secede or out of her great resources to contribute abundantly of men and material to the Southern cause, as she would surely have done had her people been left free to do as they pleased.

It was also the crowning achievement of Lyon's well-conceived campaign. The capture of Camp Jackson had disarmed the State and compelled the loyalty of St. Louis and all the adjacent counties. The advance upon Jefferson City had put the State government to flight and taken away from it that prestige which gives force to established authority. The dispersion of the volunteers who had rushed to Boonville to fight under Price for Missouri and the South extended Lyon's conquest over all that country lying between the Missouri and the State of Iowa, closed all the avenues by which the Southern men of that part of Missouri could make their way to Price, made the Missouri an unobstructed Federal highway from its source to its mouth, and rendered it impossible for Price to hold the rich, populous, and friendly counties in the vicinity of Lexington. Price had indeed no alternative now but to retreat in all haste to the southwestern corner of the State, there to organize his army under the protection of the force which the Confederate government was mustering in northwestern Arkansas under General McCulloch for the protection of that State and the Indian Territory.

Again, in summing up the achievements of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, who was BLAIR's sworn friend and ally, carrying out BLAIR's general plan, Colonel Snead says:

By capturing the State militia at Camp Jackson and driving the governor from the capital and all his troops into the uttermost corner of the State, and by holding Price and McCulloch at bay, he had given

the Union men of Missouri time, opportunity, and courage to bring their State convention together again, and had given the convention an excuse and the power to depose Governor Jackson and Lieutenant-Governor Reynolds, to vacate the seats of the members of the general assembly, and to establish a State government which was loyal to the Union and which would use the whole organized power of the State—its treasury, its credit, its militia, and all its great resources—to sustain the Union and crush the South.

A few incidents out of a multitude which might be cited will show the character of political warfare in Missouri in the days when BLAIR was on the boards.

Before the war he went to Hannibal to make an emancipation speech. A mob gathered to break up the meeting. While he was speaking some one hit him squarely in the forehead with an egg. He wiped it off with his finger, flipped it on the ground, and imperturbably proceeded, making not the slightest allusion to the incident. His marvelous nerve charmed his audience, hostile though it was, and those who had come to stone him remained to applaud.

In the outskirts of Louisiana, Mo., stand four immense sugar trees, which, if the Druidical religion were in vogue in the Mississippi Valley, would be set aside as objects of worship by Democrats. They form the corners of a rectangle about large enough for a speaker's platform. Beneath their grateful shadow, with the Father of Waters behind him, the eternal hills in front of him, the blue sky above his head, in the presence of a great and curious concourse of people, FRANK BLAIR made the first Democratic speech delivered in Missouri after the close of the civil war. Excitement was intense. Armed men of all shades of opinion abounded on every hand. When BLAIR arose to speak he unbuckled his pistol belt and coolly laid two navy revolvers on the table. He prefaced his remarks as follows:

Fellow-citizens, I understand that I am to be killed here to-day. I have just come out of four years of that sort of business. If there is to be any of it here, it had better be attended to before the speaking begins.

That calm but pregnant exordium has perhaps no counter part in the entire range of oratory.

There was silence deep as death;
And the boldest held his breath
For a time.

He then proceeded with his speech, but had not been going more than five minutes until a man of gigantic proportions started toward him, shaking his huge fist and shouting, "He's an arrant rebel! Take him out! Take him out!" BLAIR stopped, looked the man in the face, crooked his finger at him, and said, "You come and take me out!" which put an end to that episode, for the man who was yelling "Take him out!" suddenly realized that BLAIR's index finger, which was beckoning him on, would soon be pressing the trigger of one of those pistols if he did go on, and he prudently declined BLAIR's invitation.

He got through that day without bloodshed; but when he spoke at Warrensburg, a little later, he had not proceeded a quarter of an hour before a prominent citizen sitting on the speaker's stand started toward BLAIR, with a pistol in his hand and with a mighty oath, yelling: "That statement is a lie!" which instantly precipitated a free fight, in which one man was killed and several severely wounded. BLAIR went on with his speech amid ceaseless interruptions. I know a venerable, mild-mannered, Christian statesman, now in this very Capitol, who for two mortal hours of that pandemonium stood with his hand upon his revolver ready to shoot down any man that assaulted BLAIR.

Afterwards BLAIR was advertised to speak at Marshall, in Saline County. On the day of his arrival an armed mob was organized to prevent him from speaking, and an armed body of Democrats swore he should. A collision occurred, resulting in a regular pitched battle, in which several men lost their lives and others were badly injured. But BLAIR made his speech.

One night he was speaking in Lucas Market place, in St. Louis, when a man in the crowd, not 20 feet from the stand, pointed a revolver directly at him. Friendly hands interposed to turn the aim skyward. "Let him shoot, if he dares," said BLAIR, gazing coolly at his would-be murderer; "if I am wrong, I ought to be shot, but this man is not the proper executioner." The fellow was hustled from the audience.

Amid such scenes he toured the State from the Des Moines River to the Arkansas line and from the Mississippi to the mouth of the raging Kaw. The man who did that had a lion's heart in his breast.

A LEADER.

The old Latin dictum runs: "Poeta nascitur, non fit." The same is true of the leader of men—he is born, not made.

What constitutes the quality of leadership, Mr. Speaker? You do not know. I do not know. None of us knows. No man can tell.

Talent, genius, learning, courage, eloquence, greatness in many fields we may define with something approximating exactness; but who can inform us as to the constituent elements of leadership? We all recognize the leader the moment we behold him, but what entitles him to that distinction is and perhaps must forever remain one of the unsolved mysteries of psychology.

Talent, even genius, does not make a man a leader, for some men of the profoundest talents, others of the most dazzling genius, have been servile followers and have debased their rich gifts from God to the flattery of despots. Most notable among those was Lord Bacon, the father of the inductive philosophy, who possessed the most exquisite intellect ever housed in a human skull, and whose spirit was so abject and so groveling

that he was not unjustly described in that blistering, scornful couplet by Alexander Pope:

If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,
The wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind!

Courage is not synonymous with the quality of leadership though necessary to it, for some of the bravest soldiers that ever met Death upon the battlefield and defied him to his face were amazingly lacking in that regard.

Learning does not render a man a leader, for some of the greatest scholars of whom history tells were wholly without influence over their fellow-men. Eloquence does not make a leader, for some of the world's greatest orators, among them Cicero, have been the veriest cravens; and no craven can lead men.

But whatever the quality is, people recognize it instinctively, and inevitably follow the man who possesses it.

FRANK BLAIR was a natural leader.

Yet during his career there were finer scholars in Missouri than he, though he was an excellent scholar, a graduate from Princeton; there were more splendid orators, though he ranked with the most convincing and persuasive; there were profounder lawyers, though he stood high at the bar; there were better mixers, though he was of cordial and winning manners; there were men, perhaps, of stronger mental force, though he was amply endowed with brains, so good a judge of human nature as Abraham Lincoln saying of him, "He has abundant talents;" there were men as brave, though he was of the bravest; but as a leader he overtopped them all.

Believing sincerely that human slavery was wrong per se and that it was of most evil to the States where it existed, he fought it tooth and nail, not from sympathy for the negroes so much as from affection for the whites, and created the

Republican party in Missouri before the civil war—a most hazardous performance in that day and latitude. At its close, when, in his judgment, his party associates had become the oppressors of the people and the enemies of liberty, he left them, and lifting in his mighty arms the Democracy, which lay bleeding and swooning in the dust, he breathed into its nostrils the breath of life—another performance of extraordinary hazard.

This man was of the stuff out of which martyrs are made, and he would have gone grimly, undauntedly, unflinchingly, and defiantly to the block, the scaffold, or the stake in defense of any cause which he considered just. Though he was imperious, tempestuous, dogmatic, and impetuous, though no danger could swerve him from the path of duty, though he gave tremendous blows to his antagonists and received many of the same kind, he had infinite compassion for the helpless and the weak, and to the end his heart remained tender as a little child's.

When he came out of the Army, with his splendid military and civil record, it may be doubted whether there was any official position, however exalted, beyond his reach if he had remained with the Republicans. I have always believed, and do now believe, that by severing his connection with them he probably threw away the Vice-Presidency—possibly the Presidency itself—a position for which most statesmen pant even as the hart panteth for the water brook. During his long, stormy, and vicissitudinous career he always unhesitatingly did what he thought was right for right's sake, leaving the consequences to take care of themselves. That he was ambitious of political preferment there can be no question; but office had no charms for him if it involved sacrifice of principle or compromise of conscience.

This great man, for great he was beyond even the shadow of a doubt, enjoyed the distinction unique among statesmen of being hated and loved in turn by all Missourians, of changing his political affiliations violently twice long after he had passed the formative and effervescent period of youth, and, while spending nearly his entire life in the hurly-burly of politics, of dying at last mourned by every man and woman in the State whose good opinion was worth possessing. In that respect his career is without a parallel. Born a Democrat, he served in this House as a Republican, in the Senate as a Democrat, and died, finally, in the political faith of his fathers.

Change of party affiliations by a man of mature age is nearly always a painful performance—generally injurious to his fame; but BLAIR'S two complete changes of base appear to have increased the respect in which men held him, and the secret of this anomaly is that in each instance he quit a triumphant and arrogant majority with which he was a prime favorite to link his fortunes with a feeble and hopeless minority—proof conclusive of his rectitude of purpose, whereas, if he had abandoned a minority to join a majority his honesty of motive might have well been impugned.

BENTON'S scorn of his opponents was so lofty and so galling, the excoriations he inflicted—aye, lavished—upon them bred such rancor in their hearts, the lash with which he scourged them left such festering wounds, that they never forgave him until they knew he was dead—dead as Julius Caesar—dead beyond all cavil. Then they put on sackcloth and ashes and gave him the most magnificent funeral ever seen west of the Mississippi.

BLAIR'S was a happier fate than that of his illustrious prototype and exemplar. While from the day of his return from the Mexican war to the hour of his retirement from the Senate

he was in the forefront of every political battle in Missouri—and nowhere on earth were political wars waged with more ungovernable fury—such were his endearing qualities that the closing years of his life were placid as a summer evening, and he died amid the lamentations of [a mighty people. Republicans seemed to remember only the good he had done them, forgetting the injuries, while Democrats forgot the injuries he had inflicted upon them and remembered only the invaluable service he had rendered. Union veterans named a Grand Army post for him; Confederates proudly call their boys Frank Blair, and his fellow-citizens, without regard to creed or party, erected his statue of heroic size in Forest Park to perpetuate his fame to coming generations.

THE BORDER STATES DURING THE WAR.

Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman once said, "War is hell!" Those who lived in "the border States" during our civil war and who are old enough to remember the tragic events of that bloody but heroic epoch in our annals will with one accord indorse his idea, if not his sulphurous language.

It was easy to be a Union man in Massachusetts. It was not profitable to be anything else. It was easy to be a Confederate in South Carolina. It was not safe to be anything else. But in Kentucky, Missouri, and the other border States it was perilous to be the one thing or the other. Indeed it was dangerous to be neither and to sit on the fence. [Laughter.]

I was a child when Sumter was fired on, living in Washington County, Ky. I remember an old fellow from whom the Union raiders took one horse and the Confederate raiders another. So when a third party of soldiers met him in the road and inquired whether he were a Union man or a rebel, being dubious as to their army affiliations, he answered diplomatically, "I am neither one nor the other, and very little of

that," and thereby lost his third and last horse to Confederates disguised in blue uniforms. [Laughter and applause.]

The Kentuckians are a peculiar people—the most hospitable, the most emotional, the kindest hearted under the sun; but they are born warriors. A genuine son of "the Dark and Bloody Ground" is in his normal condition only when fighting. It seems to me that somebody must have sown that rich land with dragon's teeth in the early days. To use a sentence indigenous to the soil, "A Kentuckian will fight at the drop of a hat, and drop it himself." So the war was his golden opportunity. He went to death as to a festival. Nearly every able-bodied man in the State—and a great many not able-bodied—not only of military age, but of any age, young enough or old enough to squeeze in, took up arms on one side or the other, and sometimes on both.

Neighbor against neighbor, father against son, brother against brother, slave against master, and frequently wife against husband; the fierce contention entered even into theology, rent congregations in twain, severed the ties of blood, and blotted out the friendships of a lifetime.

Men who were born and reared on adjoining farms, who had attended the same schools, played the same games, courted the same girls, danced in the same sets, belonged to the same lodges, and worshiped in the same churches, suddenly went gunning for each other as remorselessly as red Indians—only they had a clearer vision and a surer aim. From the mouth of the Big Sandy to the mouth of the Tennessee there was not a square mile in which some awful act of violence did not take place.

Kentucky has always been celebrated for and cursed by its bloody feuds—feuds which cause the Italian vendetta to appear a holiday performance in comparison. Of course the war was the evening-up time, and many a man became a violent Unionist

because the ancient enemies of his house were Southern sympathizers, and vice versa. Some of them could have given pointers to Fra Diavolo himself.

As all the evil passions of men were aroused, and all restraints of propriety as well as all fear of law were removed, every latent tendency toward crime was warmed into life. The land swarmed with cutthroats, robbers, thieves, firebugs, and malefactors of every degree and kind, who preyed upon the old, the infirm, the helpless, and committed thousands of brutal and heinous crimes—in the name of the Union or the Southern Confederacy.

Missouri, prior to the war, was more a Kentucky colony than anything else, with the Kentucky characteristics, feuds and all, reproduced in stronger and larger form in her amazingly fertile soil. So all that goes before applies to Missouri as well as to Kentucky.

From the first Missouri has been the stormy petrel of American politics. The richest, the most imperial Commonwealth in the Union, her geographical location always placed her in the thick of the fight. She was a slave peninsula jutting out into a free-soil sea.

The first serious trouble on the slavery question came with her admission into the Union, and the second over the admission of California—a Missouri colony. Most people date hostilities from Sumter, April, 1861. As a matter of fact, Missouri and Kansas had been carrying on a civil war on their own hook for five or six years before the first gun was fired in Charleston Harbor.

If Sir Walter Scott had lived in that day, he could have found enough material for fifty novels descriptive of border warfare in the forays and exploits of the Missourians and Kansans before the first soldier was legally mustered into the service of either army.

Out on a Kansas prairie stands a monument to old John Brown, reciting the fact, *inter alia*, that he commanded "at the battle of Ossawatimie on the 30th day of August, 1856."

Whether the opposing commander has a monument I do not know.

I witnessed only one battle during the civil war. A line in Gen. Basil W. Duke's entertaining book, *Morgan and His Men*, is all that is vouchsafed to it in the literature of the war; but surely it was the most astounding martial caper ever cut since Nimrod invented the military art, and it fully illustrates the Kentuckian's inherent and ineradicable love of fighting.

I saw seven home guards charge the whole of Morgan's Cavalry—the very flower of Kentucky chivalry.

I was working as a farm hand for one John Call, who was the proud owner of several fine horses of the famous "copper-bottom" breed.

Morgan had, perhaps, as good an eye for a "saddler" as was ever set in a human head, and during those troublous days his mind was sadly mixed on the meum and tuum when it came to equines—a remark applicable to many others besides Morgan, on both sides at that.

Call, hearing that Morgan was coming, and knowing his penchant for the noblest of quadrupeds, ordered me to mount "in hot haste" and "take the horses to the woods."

Just as I had climbed upon a magnificent chestnut sorrel, fit for a king's charger, and was rounding up the others, I looked up, and in the level rays of the setting summer sun saw Morgan's Cavalry in "all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war" riding up the broad gravel road on the backbone of a long, high ridge, half a mile to the south. Fascinated by the glittering array, boylike, I forgot Call and the peril of his horses and watched the gay cavalcade.

Suddenly I saw seven horsemen emerge from the little village

of Mackville and ride furiously down the turnpike to within easy pistol range of the Confederates and open fire. I could hear the crack of the revolvers and see the flash and smoke, and when Morgan's advance guard fell back on the main body I observed that one riderless horse went back with them and that only six home guards rode back to Mackville in lieu of the seven who had ridden forth to battle.

Morgan's command halted, deployed in battle line, and rode slowly up the hill, while I rode a great deal faster to the woods.

The home guards had shot one man out of his saddle and captured him, and Morgan had captured one of them. Next morning the home guards, from their forest fastness, sent in a flag of truce and regularly negotiated an exchange of prisoners according to the rules in such cases made and provided.

Of course Morgan would have paid no attention to the seven men, but he supposed that even his own native Kentucky never nurtured seven dare-devils so reckless as to do a thing like that unless they had an army back of them.

I have often thought of that matchless deed of daring, and can say, in the language of the Frenchman who witnessed the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava: "It is magnificent, but not war."

Years afterwards one of the seven was sending his children to school to me. After I became well acquainted with him, one day I said to him: "Gibson, I have always wanted to know what made you seven fellows charge Morgan." "Oh," he replied, "we were all full of fighting whisky"—an explanation which explained not only that fight but thousands more. [Laughter.]

If that splendid feat of arms had been performed in New England by New Englanders the world could scarcely contain the books which would have been written about it. It would

have been chronicled in history and chanted in song as an inexhaustible theme.

It is generally assumed by the wiseacres who write the histories that in the border States the old, wealthy, prominent slaveholding families all adhered to the Confederacy, and that only the poor, the obscure natives and the immigrants from the North stood by the old flag. This is a serious mistake. The great historic dominant family connections divided, thereby making confusion worse confounded. Prominent people wore the Confederate gray. Others just as prominent wore the Union blue.

Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge, the great theologian, with a decided and incurable bias for politics, who presided over the Republican national convention of 1864, which nominated Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, was a staunch Union man. Two of his sons achieved high rank in the Confederate armies and two others in the Union armies.

His illustrious cousin, John C. Breckinridge, resigned his seat in the United States Senate to become a lieutenant-general in the Southern army, while James S. Jackson, Representative from the Green River district, resigned his seat in the House to become a brigadier in the Union Army and died a hero's death, leading his division on the hard-fought field of Perryville.

Rodger Hanson, the eloquent, became a Confederate general and fell on the field of his glory at Stone River, while his brother won distinction on the other side as general of brigade.

John J. Crittenden—the best beloved of Kentucky statesmen—unflinchingly stood by the Union, while one of his sons wore the double stars of a Union major general, another achieving similar rank in the Confederate army.

The Henry Clay branch of the great Clay family espoused the Confederate cause, while the Cassius M. Clay branch

fought with the traditional courage of their race for the solidarity of the Union.

John Marshall Harlan—now Mr. Justice Harlan, of the Supreme Court—with a pedigree running back to the cavaliers of Jamestown—won renown on many a bloody field, fighting under "Old Pap" Thomas—"the Rock of Chickamauga."

In the same army were Lovell H. Rousseau, the ideal soldier and princely gentleman, and Benjamin H. Bristow, who missed the Presidency only by a scratch and through lack of organization of his forces.

I had two schoolmates, older than myself, named Dickinson, beardless boys and brothers, one of whom enlisted with Morgan as a private and the other in the same capacity in brave old Frank Wolford's famous First Kentucky Union Cavalry. The strange fortunes of civil war brought these brothers face to face in the great Indiana-Ohio raid—the greatest ride ever taken since horses were first broken to bit and rein—and when Morgan was captured, the Confederate Dickinson surrendered to his Union brother.

In Missouri, THOMAS HART BENTON, "the great Senator," a North Carolinian by birth and a Tennessean by training, lost his curule chair in 1851 on the slavery question, and so long as he lived his vast influence was for the Union; and it was his political pupil—FRANK P. BLAIR, a Kentuckian and a slaveholder—who more than any other held Missouri to the Union, while his cousin, Gen. Jo Shelby, was the beau sabreur of the trans-Mississippi Confederates.

To the same class belonged James O. Broadhead, John B. Henderson, Edward Bates, Hamilton R. Gamble, Willard P. Hall, John D. Stevenson, Thomas C. Fletcher, Thomas T. Crittenden, Samuel T. Glover, John F. Phillips, B. Gratz Brown, John D. S. Dryden, James S. Rollins—the most brilliant orator

and one of the largest slave owners in the State—and a large minority, if not a positive majority, of the leading Unionists of Missouri.

So far as I know, only one Virginian of the first rank fought for the Union—Gen. George H. Thomas—but he was a host within himself, the greatest soldier on the Federal side, for that will be the verdict of posterity after the sleight-of-hand performers have done juggling the facts of history for political effect.

Indeed, it is safe to say that had none of the aristocratic families—wrongfully so called—none of the great families, none of the slaveholders stood for the Union, Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland would have seceded, and if they had gone with the South unanimously the Confederacy would have achieved its independence; but if those States had been solidly for the Union, if the house had not been hopelessly divided against itself in all that region, the war would not have lasted half so long and William H. Seward's optimistic prophecy of a "ninety days' picnic" would have been fulfilled.

This brings me to the central idea of this speech—the main fact—of which I never think without anger and resentment, for I believe that justice should be done, even in writing history, though the heavens fall, and it is this:

Population considered, Kentucky and Missouri sent more soldiers to the civil war than any other State and receive less credit for it.

They were splendid soldiers, too. Theodore Roosevelt says that by actual measurement the Kentucky Union soldiers were the finest specimens of physical manhood who were in the Federal armies; and when Jefferson Davis, himself a renowned soldier, reviewed the army at Corinth, he declared Cockrell's Missouri brigade to be the most magnificent soldiers his trained military eye had ever gazed upon.

Nevertheless it is difficult to induce extreme Southerners to admit that the Kentucky and Missouri Confederates were good Confederates, though the Kentuckians and Missourians made a four years' war possible. It is even more difficult to induce extreme Northerners, whose skins and homes and property were all safe during the war, to admit that the Unionists of Kentucky and Missouri deserve any credit, when as a matter of fact they prevented secession from succeeding.

If Lovell H. Rousseau had never recruited his Louisville Legion; if old Frank Wolford and Thomas E. Bramlette had never established Camp Dick Robinson, Kentucky would have seceded and the Ohio River would have been an impassable barrier to the invading armies.

If FRANK BLAIR had never captured Camp Jackson—for it was BLAIR who conceived and carried out that great strategic movement, and not Gen. Nathaniel Lyon, of New England, as the Northern war books say—Missouri would have joined the Confederacy under the lead of Governor Claiborne F. Jackson and Gen. Sterling Price, the peerless soldier, and with her vast resources to command, Lee's soldiers would not have been starved and frozen into a surrender.

If the Government built monuments to soldiers in proportion to what they really accomplished for the Union cause, FRANK BLAIR's would tower proudly among the loftiest. Camp Jackson is slurred over with an occasional paragraph in the history books, but it was the turning point in the war west of the Mississippi, and it was the work of FRANK BLAIR, the Kentuckian, the Missourian, the slave owner, the patrician, the leonine soldier, the patriotic statesman.

Some day a Tacitus, Sismondi, or Macaulay will write a truthful history of our civil war—the bloodiest chapter in the book of time—and when it is written the Kentucky and Missouri heroes, both Union and Confederate, will be enrobed in immortal glory.

It is said that figures will not lie, and here they are: To the Union armies Missouri contributed 109,111 soldiers; Kentucky, 75,760; Maryland, 46,638; Tennessee, 31,092, and West Virginia, 32,068 — making a grand total of 294,669.

Now, suppose a case. Suppose that as the sun was setting on the gory field of Shiloh, when Albert Sidney Johnston died, all the Kentuckians, Missourians, and Tennesseans had been suddenly subtracted from the Union Army and transferred to the Confederate side. Can any sane man doubt what would have happened? As certain as fate Ulysses Simpson Grant and the remnants of his army would have been captured or driven into the Tennessee and Beauregard would have fattened his famished soldiers on the fertile prairies of Illinois and Indiana. All the Buells and Nelsons in Christendom could not have saved the silent soldier had it not been for the Kentuckians, Missourians, and Tennesseans fighting for their country there; and with all Grant's bulldog tenacity the history of Vicksburg, Missionary Ridge, Cold Harbor, the Wilderness, and Appomattox never would have been written, for the all-sufficient reason that there would not have been any to write.

Suppose another case. Suppose that George H. Thomas had gone with his State, as all his brothers in arms from Virginia did, and that when Pickett made his spectacular charge at Gettysburg, Thomas had in the nick of time reenforced him with the 294,669 veteran Kentuckians, Missourians, Marylanders, West Virginians, and Tennesseans then fighting in the Union armies, can any human being fail to understand what would have been the result? Meade's grand army would have been ground to powder, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Harrisburg, Washington, New York would have been taken, the nations of Europe would have run races with each other to recognize the independence of the Confederacy, and more aid than he needed would have been freely tendered Jefferson

Davis to enable him to realize the aspirations of the South for a separate government.

In taking a retrospect of the conduct of the border States during the war and of how the slaveholders therein fought valiantly for their own undoing, I am forced to the conclusion that when Abraham Lincoln said in his first inaugural address:

I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so.

he did more for the preservation of the Union than was done by all the speeches, great and small, delivered since the confusion of tongues at the Tower of Babel, for that one declaration held hundreds of thousands in the border States faithful to the Union who otherwise and naturally would have gone with the South. The Kentuckians and Missourians belong to that class who, having put their hands to the plow, do not look back, and they fought on after the emancipation proclamation as bravely and doggedly as before.

It may be that the fact that Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis were both Kentuckians, born within a few miles of each other, added fuel to the flames throughout Kentucky and Missouri and wherever the Kentuckians had settled in large numbers. The accident of their birth in the same vicinity contributed to the awful tragedy the element of feud, inherent in the Kentucky character.

At any rate, Lincoln understood the Kentuckians and Missourians better than any other Republican President, and to the day of his death they had a warm place in his sympathetic heart.

More than all this, the border State men fought, whatever their rank.

The only instance on record during the entire war of one field officer killing another in battle was at Mill Spring, when

Gen. Speed Smith Fry, of Kentucky, a Union soldier, shot and killed General Zollicoffer, commanding a brigade of Tennessee Confederates. The only parallel to this sanguinary performance in all our military annals was the killing of Tecumseh, at the battle of the river Thames, by Col. Richard M. Johnson, another Kentuckian, popularly called "Old Dick."

Ed Porter Thompson, of Kentucky, a Confederate captain, hobbled into the battle of Murfreesboro on his crutches, and for two days fought side by side with those possessing the soundest and most stalwart legs, thereby rivaling the far-resounding feats of Charles XII of Sweden at Pultowa and Gen. Joseph Wheeler at Santiago of being carried into battle upon a stretcher.

One of my own constituents, P. Wells, is the only soldier, living or dead, so far as history tells, that ever had a wooden leg shot off in battle, for the reason, perhaps, that he is the only soldier that ever went into battle with a wooden leg. He survived his wound to become a wealthy and enthusiastic Populist.

In Missouri the war was waged with unspeakable bitterness, sometimes with inhuman cruelty. It was fought by men in single combat, in squads, in companies, in regiments, in great armies, in the open, in fortified towns, and in ambush, under the Stars and Stripes, under the Stars and Bars, and under the black flag. The arch fiend himself seems to have been on the field in person, inspiring, directing, commanding. Up in north Missouri Gen. John McNeil took 12 innocent men out and shot them in cold blood, because it was supposed that some bushwhacker had killed a Union man. That is known in local history as "the Palmyra massacre," and has "damned" John McNeil "to everlasting fame." It turned out afterwards that the Union man was still alive, and so the 12 men had died in vain—even according to the hard rule of *lex talionis*.

At Centralia one day a Wabash train containing more than 30 Union soldiers was captured by Bill Anderson, a guerrilla chief, who had sustained some grievous personal injury at the hands of the Unionists, and whose blood some subtle mental alchemy had converted into gall. He deliberately took them out and shot them every one, as though they had been so many wolves.

Having completed that gory job, he marched out to a skirt of timber, about a mile from town, and camped at the foot of a long, gentle prairie slope. Shortly after a certain Colonel Johnson, with a body of Union cavalry, followed him and took position on the ridge of the prairie. The sight of them made Anderson wild with delight and whetted his appetite for blood; so he mounted his 80 men, the most superb horsemen in the world, who, with bridle reins between their teeth and a navy revolver in each hand, rode up on Johnson's 160 men, whom he had foolishly dismounted, and, firing to right and left, killed 143 of them, and would have killed the other 17 if they could have been caught. Only one man was taken alive, and he badly wounded, the legend in the neighborhood being that he saved himself by giving the Masonic sign of distress.

Such are samples of the civil war in Missouri and Kentucky.

The survivors of those cruel days, Union and Confederate, are now living side by side, cultivating assiduously the arts of peace in the imperial Commonwealth of Missouri—the most delectable place for human habitation beneath the stars.

A PIONEER PEACEMAKER.

Lately we have heard a vast deal of eloquence about a reunited country. Thirty-two years after Appomattox men are accounted orators, statesmen, and philanthropists because they grandiloquently declare that at last the time has arrived

to bury the animosities of the civil war in a grave upon whose headstone shall be inscribed, "No Resurrection." I would not detract even in the estimation of a hair from the fame of these eleventh-hour pacificators. I humbly and fervently thank Almighty God that the country is reunited.

When I look into the faces of my little children, my heart swells with ineffable pride to think that they are citizens of this great Republic, one and indivisible, which is destined not for a day, but for all time, and which will be the crowning glory and dominating influence of all the centuries yet to be. But if we applaud these *ex post facto* peacemakers and shed tears of joy over their belated pathos, what shall be our meed of praise, the measure of our gratitude, the manifestation of our admiration, the expression of our love for FRANK BLAIR, the magnificent Missourian, the splendid American, who, with his military laurels fresh upon him, within a few days after Lee surrendered, returned to his State, which had been ravaged by fire and sword, holding aloft the olive branch, proclaiming to the world that there were no rebels any more, that his fellow-citizens who had fought for the South were entitled to equal respect and equal rights with other citizens, and that real peace must "tinkle on the shepherd's bells and sing among the reapers" of Missouri? He took the ragged and defeated Confederates by the hand and, in the words of Abraham to Lot, said, "We be brethren."

The truly brave,
When they behold the brave oppressed with odds,
Are touched with a desire to shield and save.

[Applause.]

It seems to me that the very angels in heaven, looking down with approving eyes upon his magnanimous conduct, must have sung, in full chorus, the song of nineteen hundred years ago, "On earth, peace; good will toward men."

King Solomon says:

To every thing there is a season and a time to every purpose under heaven: A time to kill, and a time to heal.

In the time for killing, FRANK BLAIR was one of the most persistent fighters. When the time for healing came, he was one of the first to pour the balm of consolation into bruised hearts and to bind up the nation's wounds.

In the Army he was one of the favorite lieutenants of Ulysses Simpson Grant, who with knightly honor resolutely and courageously kept his plighted faith to Lee, thereby preventing an aftermath of death at the very thought of which the world grows pale.

In the fierce and all-pervading light of history, which beats not upon thrones alone, but upon all high places as well, BLAIR will stand side by side with the invincible soldier who said, "Let us have peace"—the noblest words that ever fell from martial lips.

ADDRESS OF MR. LLOYD, OF MISSOURI.

Mr. Speaker, Missouri presents to-day to the Congress of the United States statues of two of her honored dead and asks that they may be received and placed in Statuary Hall in this Capitol as a permanent memorial not only of her devotion to their memory, but in recognition of the fact that few men have accomplished more for this nation than they have done.

The cold marble, fashioned through skill and energy to represent the body of the living or the dead, is one of the wonderful achievements of the ages. Two excellent evidences of perfection in this art are presented here to-day. It was never my privilege to see either of the extraordinary characters thus shown in statuary form, but the names of BENTON and BLAIR are household words in Missouri, and are recognized anywhere as the names of prominent characters in national history.

It is claimed by those who should know that these statues are lifelike; but, sir, these inanimate representations, perfect as they may be, have not the vital force of the living being, and but serve to show the weakness of man in his efforts to reproduce that from which the providence of God has withdrawn the breath of life.

Among the great men of this nation who have had part in its achievements, who have secured place in the hearts of their countrymen, and who have left indelible impress for good, few have ever been entitled to greater honor and respect than THOMAS H. BENTON and FRANCIS P. BLAIR, jr.

Missouri does not present these emblems in stone simply as matter of form—that it may have the honor of representation in yonder Statuary Hall, once the National House of Representatives—but that it may discharge a duty in showing appreciation of its honored dead. It would teach its youth to cherish

the memory of those who have built up its institutions and given the State such high place. It would remind them to look with admiration upon the good deeds of its great men, and to ever show respect to the dead whose lives were spent in successful achievement for their country's honor and development.

It is not my purpose to contrast the characters of BLAIR and BENTON. I have not one word to say in disparagement of either, but it is understood that my remarks shall be directed mainly to the statue of Colonel BENTON, as others will pay the tribute to General BLAIR which his distinguished services and personal character so richly deserve.

THOMAS HART BENTON was born in the last year of that eventful period in national history, the Revolutionary war, within two months of the birth of Daniel Webster. His birthplace was near Hillsboro, in Orange County, N. C. His ancestors were among the leaders of the Revolution of 1775, and contributed largely in every way to the service of their country. Col. Jesse Benton, his father, was a gentleman of excellent character and a lawyer of recognized ability. His mother was Ann Gooch, of the Gooch family of Virginia. A lady of strong and resolute character, she possessed unusual mental endowment, and her literary acquirements were good for the period. At the age of 8 years it was Mr. BENTON's misfortune to lose his father, he being the eldest of several children left in the care of the mother. While he obtained his education, in the most part, in private schools, he also spent some time at the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, though he did not graduate from the institution.

But few years elapsed after his father's death until his mother, with her children, moved to Tennessee and lived upon a large landed estate which had been left by her husband. She

succeeded well in the development of the estate and in the acquisition of property, considering the fact that they were on the frontier, or nearly so, of civilization. He studied law, but in the meantime taught in a small school on Duck Creek, near Franklin, in that State. He was admitted to the bar at Franklin, the home of the present distinguished Representative from that district [Mr. Cox], and there began the practice of his profession. Shortly afterwards he was elected to the legislature of that State and distinguished himself in his efforts to secure the passage of two bills, one for the reform of the judicial system and the other in which the same right of trial by jury was given to slaves as to white men.

At the close of this service he moved to Nashville, the beautiful capital of that State, near the attractive home of his friend and admirer, Gen. Andrew Jackson, afterwards President Jackson. This home, known as the Hermitage, is carefully preserved up to the present time and is about 12 miles distant from Nashville. General Jackson took an active interest in Mr. BENTON and assisted him very greatly in securing position at the bar.

From Foote's Bench and Bar of the South and Southwest we learn that Mr. BENTON formed a partnership for the practice of the law at Nashville with the late O. B. Hayes, a native of Massachusetts, of liberal education and more than ordinary ability.

In the war of 1812 young BENTON was General Jackson's aide-de-camp for a short time. He also raised a regiment of volunteers, but had no opportunity to engage in actual warfare. But no one doubts his courage or his ability, if opportunity had come to him, to meet an enemy on the field of battle. In 1813 he was appointed a lieutenant-colonel in the United States Army by President Madison. He at once started to Canada,

but on his way learned that peace had been declared, and, returning, he resigned his commission. Thus ended a short but willing service, for no man of his day was more patriotic, and none braver could be found. The laurels which come from victorious conflict could not be claimed for him, but his devotion to his country is fully shown by his voluntary offer to assist it.

In 1815 he took up his residence in St. Louis and began the practice of law. On account of his integrity, legal knowledge, energy, and devotion to the cause of his clients, he soon built up a good practice. He became connected during that time with a newspaper at St. Louis, which gave him opportunity to reach the people. He advocated vigorously such matters as he believed were for the interests of the growing West. He made a strong fight in favor of the admission of Missouri to the Union notwithstanding her slavery constitution. The stand taken in this matter had more to do than any one thing, perhaps, in giving him the prominence which secured him the distinguished honor of being one of the first two Senators elected by that State in the year 1820.

Sir, we now approach the greater work of Colonel BENTON—that broad field of labor in which he wrought so mightily for mankind. The results achieved here will live in American history long after the enduring statue shall have become clouded with age. I have not the time to elaborate on his great service as a public servant, and can only, in a very general way, refer to his labors and to a few of the vital questions which engaged his attention. He went into the Senate as a representative of the West and Western sentiment. He could hardly be classed as belonging to either the North or the South at any period in his history, for while he was himself a slave owner he was an ardent Union man, and was

chiefly concerned that the flag of his country should ever wave over a united people. He condemned the Hartford convention in its disunion sentiment, and ever regarded his country as more important than any part of it.

Colonel BENTON was fully imbued with the political teachings of Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic school of statesmanship, and was the very impersonation of the genius of the West, where these theories had taken their deepest root. He knew better than anyone who preceded him its needs, its capabilities, and its destinies. He devoted himself with all of his unusual powers of body and mind to the important duty of supplying these wants, showing its capabilities, and in preparing the way for its future development. He sought to expose to public gaze the vicious legislation that so hampered its growth and chained its giant energies.

This unfortunate condition resulted in part from ignorance and largely from that local, selfish class interest which fixes itself upon every object from which it may draw strength. He insisted that the prosperity of the West would be shared by every other section. He demanded the repeal of those laws by which her lands were withheld from cultivation and settlement that they might be purchased and controlled by speculators; by which her mines and saline lands were leased out to rich syndicates without gain to anyone, and by which the necessities of life were taxed to pay bounties to some losing trade in another section. He believed in the fundamental doctrine of equality before the law. He resolved to attack and overthrow these monsters of evil because they were in opposition to that basic principle of the Republic.

The cultivation of the soil is the source of all national prosperity; it gives comfort and independence to the people, and is that upon which the nation must draw for its revenue,

strength, and stability. At the time of Colonel BENTON'S entry into politics the minimum price for public lands was \$2 per acre; but none could be bought at that sum until it had first been exposed at public sales to the highest bidder and rejected. The result naturally was that speculators bought the best lands and held them up for higher prices, and none but refuse lands could be bought by the actual settlers at the minimum Government price.

No one could go on public lands before sale, for he was then treated as a trespasser and was likely to be ejected by military authority. The mineral and saline lands were held by monopolists, so that the poor and struggling pioneer had but little chance in the race of life. No scheme could have been devised better calculated to keep the growth of the country in check or to prevent the settlement and cultivation of it.

Colonel BENTON, the first great statesman of the West—the only one of his time west of the Mississippi River—who was classed with Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, championed early in his eventful career the cause of the people, and sought the enactment of such laws as would secure the development of the country whose oppression he deplored and whose interests were his own. He believed that preemption, graduation, and homestead would cause this neglected portion of the vast domain to be dotted over with homes of useful, industrious, and happy people, who would bring to the bar of their country's wealth the fruits of the possibilities of that matchless region, and that soon after its adoption the whole nation would be astonished at its rapid development, and would rejoice in its unexpected achievement.

He accordingly introduced a bill which provided for the right of preemption to the actual settler at the minimum price, the reduction of the price of the land, the graduation of the prices

of refuse lands in proportion to the time they had been in the market, and the donation of homesteads to impoverished but industrious persons who would cultivate the land for a given period. He began this battle for the emancipation of the farmer and laborer of that section almost alone. He renewed his bills for these purposes with each succeeding Congress, and developed the whole subject by throwing upon it the calcium light of truth with that unequaled industry and energy for which he was distinguished above all public men.

He reproduced these speeches in the newspaper and upon the rostrum, calling the people's attention to the importance of the proposed legislation and hoping that they would compel Congress to adopt his measures. The contest was long and arduous; it was met with the most determined opposition. His plans were thwarted from time to time by schemes for the distribution of the lands or the proceeds of their sale among the States, which held out a glittering argument of greed and gain as a pecuniary incentive to deny these great measures of justice to the undeveloped West. But defeat and delay left him undaunted, and with greater determination and earnestness he pressed the battle, gaining strength for his cause with each successive engagement. A single quotation from one of his speeches will serve to show the scope of his reasoning:

The example of all nations, ancient and modern, republican and monarchical, is in favor of giving lands in parcels suitable to their wants to meritorious cultivators. There is not an instance upon earth, except that of our own Federal Government, which made merchandise of land to its own citizens, exacted the highest price it could obtain, and refused to suffer the country to be settled until it was paid for. The promised land was divided among the children of Israel. All the Atlantic States, when British colonies, were settled upon gratuitous donations or nominal sales.

Kentucky and Tennessee were chiefly settled in the same way. The two Floridas and Upper and Lower Louisiana were gratuitously distributed by the kings of Spain to settlers, in quantities adapted to their means of cultivation, and with the whole vacant domain to select from, according

to their pleasure. Mr. Burke, in his great argument in the British Parliament upon the sale of the Crown lands, said he considered the revenue derived from the sale of such lands as a trifle of no account compared to the amount of the revenue derivable from the same lands through their settlement and cultivation.

Colonel BENTON'S advanced and statesmanlike views finally took hold upon the country. They were adopted by other public men, who took up the cause and assisted in its work, while the people rallied to his support. General Jackson and Mr. Van Buren, in their messages to Congress on these questions, embodied his ideas in recommendations. Many of the States embraced his measures, and in many ways public interest was aroused until their passage was secured. The great West, in its development of this age, is the monument to the enactment of that and other beneficent measures in which he took prominent part. He who holds his farm by preemption right to-day, or through the graduation laws, or has been enabled to make a happy home for himself and family through the homestead enactments, should accord to Colonel BENTON the meed of praise for securing these legal rights. It is no exaggerated eulogy to attribute to him the first place among those who wrought so well as to make possible the development of the West and to show its colossal greatness.

Conspicuous among these efforts at reform and legislation for the masses was the overthrow of the salt tax. This article, so vital to our well-being, almost as necessary as the water we drink, was enormously taxed in order to pay a bounty to an unimportant interest in New England. When once these class interests have secured footing, their tenacity is so great that it becomes almost impossible to make them release their hold. This tax was onerous and distressing to the whole country, but especially so to the West. Colonel BENTON made war upon it. It was a monopoly, seizing an object of universal

necessity and taxing it for the benefit of the few. As such, he hated it; he wrote and spoke against it until the whole country was aroused. He portrayed what would be the result of class legislation in an alarming manner; but little, however, did he realize, with all his gifted forethought, what influence monopoly, trusts, and classes would have upon the vital energies of the country he loved so well at the close of the nineteenth century.

His power in speech was now universally recognized. In Bungay's *Offhand Takings of Noticeable Men of Our Age*, he said of Colonel BENTON:

As a speaker he is more argumentative than eloquent, more philosophical than poetical; Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, and Cass were to the United States Senate what the five senses are to the human system.

In Bateman's *Biographies of Distinguished National Men* it is said:

Mr. BENTON was distinguished by great learning, an iron will, practical mind, and strong memory. His speeches when written were firmly fixed in his mind, so that he could repeat them accurately in public without the manuscript. He was industrious, determined, and unyielding, with pockets overflowing with statistics, and his head full of historical lore.

In biographical sketches found in the *United States Democratic Review* for the year 1858 one of Colonel BENTON's associates in the Senate relates an incident which shows the effects of his speeches in a very forceful way.

A subject of some interest had been under discussion for several days. At the commencement of the debate Mr. Clay had spoken against the measure. Prior to the taking of the vote Mr. BENTON got the floor and spoke with unusual effect for more than an hour, his argument being mainly a reply to the speech of Mr. Clay. To the surprise of the whole Senate, when the vote was taken Mr. Clay voted for the bill, and thus secured its passage. Mr. Clay explained the reason of this

apparent inconsistency between his speech and vote by saying that he "could not help it;" that Colonel BENTON had convinced him that the view he had taken was wrong, not so much from his reasoning as from something connected with his speech, but what that something was he could not explain. It is said that Mr. Clay did not stand alone in this singularity, for Mr. Webster had made a like remark as to the effect of BENTON's speeches upon himself.

His efforts to overthrow bank paper was the climax, perhaps, of his energy and ability. The speeches he made on that subject were the best and strongest he ever made. He was President Jackson's support in that great contest which liberated the Government of the people from the thralldom of the bank. He was the mouthpiece of the people and the Administration. Pitted against him were Webster and Clay, whose eloquence always swayed the Senate and the nation. Accordingly the success of Colonel BENTON's cause, when we consider the charm of their oratory and the beauty and power of expression which characterized all that fell from the lips of these illustrious men, can hardly be accounted for except through his own power of speech and the righteousness of the cause which he so clearly demonstrated and so ably upheld.

Colonel BENTON was impressed with the idea that the possessions of the Government should extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. He gloried in the genius of Jefferson in securing the acquisition of what was known as the Louisiana purchase. When Texas was exchanged for Florida by the treaty of 1819 and the joint occupation of Oregon was conceded to Great Britain in 1820, Colonel BENTON raised his voice against it, and though others could not see the necessity for these regions, Colonel BENTON's prophetic vision already saw

them peopled with vast cities, marking the highway of the world's commerce. He condemned the statesmen who were thus willing to set a limit to the boundaries of the country because they could not foresee the future which would fill them with a teeming population, and in that connection used these remarkable words:

The magnificent valley of the Mississippi is ours, with all its fountain springs and floods, and woe to the statesman who shall undertake to surrender one drop of its water or one inch of its soil to any foreign power.

He renounced the treaty for the joint occupation of Oregon with the British and urged the policy of planting it with an American colony. He made himself familiar with all that country lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean. The hunters and trappers, fur traders, Indian agents, Army officers, and others who visited the great West made their headquarters and place of outfit at St. Louis. He talked with all these, entertained them at his home, and was their friend. He knew more of the country than those who had spent years in it, because he sought to know everything that was known by all who had been there.

He and his colleague, Dr. Linn, constantly urged the planting of an American colony in the place of that founded by John Jacob Astor. They sought to induce colonists, by donations of land and military protection on the route and in the Territory, to settle in the then far-off land. These measures finally rewarded their efforts; the colony was planted, the joint occupation by the British terminated by treaty, the route to the distant Oregon explored by scientific officers, and the results have been promulgated. Lieutenant Frémont, at that time an officer of engineers in the United States Army, a son-in-law of Colonel BENTON, had much to do with these

explorations and in the additions made to science and geographical knowledge. Lieutenant Frémont for years traveled over the West, and the intimate relation existing between him and Colonel BENTON was such that the early settlers of all the Western country learned to feel that their chief advocate at the national capital was Colonel BENTON.

There are a number of other matters in Colonel BENTON'S official career to which I should refer did not limited time prevent. I wish, however, to call attention to his views on the slavery question. It was his belief that there was a settled plan and determination on the part of certain eminent leaders to bring about a separation of the States. He repeatedly expressed this belief, and in the contest in 1850, when he was a candidate for the sixth time for the position which he had filled with so much credit, his views on the slavery question were an element in the campaign, and were the cause, as most persons believe, of his defeat. The bitter experience of that deadly strife, of which his rejection for the Senate was one of the opening scenes, may well remind us of the warning he uttered in vain, and of the sacrifices he made of himself to save his State and country.

Even those to whom his fiery zeal in defense of the endangered Union gave offense will not now fail to honor the noble magnanimity and lofty patriotism which prompted him to make the contest. Personal feeling ran high at that time in Missouri. After his defeat the people of his adopted city elected him to the House of Representatives, and when some of his friends were rejoicing over his victory in this contest he used these words, "Exaltation, my friend, is natural, but moderation is the ornament of victory." There never was a time when he was not devoted to his country. He was anxious that futurity should find it united and the States harmoniously living for the development of their common interests.

He served but one term in the House of Representatives; he was defeated for reelection. In 1856 he was a candidate for governor. On account of division in his own party he was defeated. From the time he went out of Congress until his death he devoted himself to literary work, preparing a very valuable publication known as "Thirty Years in Congress," which covered the period from 1820 to 1850. He presented in this work a connected narrative of the time from Adams to Pierce, and dealt largely with the secret political history of that period. He then undertook the task of abridging the debates of Congress from the foundation of the Government. This work he was just completing when death came to him. It has since been published, and is a very valuable compilation of about fifteen volumes.

While Colonel BENTON was a man of exalted patriotism, he was a man of great passion as well. Indeed, his animosities showed him unrelenting, though later in life he became forgiving. Mr. Webster is reported in Harvey's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes* to have said that Colonel BENTON and he never spoke to each other for several years, but that he came to him one day and told him, with tears in his eyes, of being on board the *Princeton* in the very best position to see the experiment of discharging her guns.

Some one in the midst of the great throng touched him and caused him to move his position. Shortly after the explosion came, and the man was killed who stood where he had. Colonel BENTON said that it seemed to him that the touch was the hand of the Almighty stretched down to draw him away from the place of instantaneous death. This circumstance changed the whole current of his life. He was now a different man and wanted to be at peace with everyone, and for that purpose he visited Webster. He said, "Let us bury the

hatchet." Webster accepted the offer, and they were ever afterwards the best of friends.

Mr. Webster relates another incident, which is found in the same book, peculiarly interesting and illustrative of Colonel BENTON's relenting spirit. John Wilson, of St. Louis, came to see Mr. Webster on a matter of business at his home in Washington. Mr. Wilson was a lawyer of extensive practice and of good talent, a man of violent prejudices and temper, who was ever in open opposition to the course of Colonel BENTON. It was notorious in St. Louis that when Colonel BENTON went on the stump John Wilson would be there to meet him and to abuse him in the strongest terms; Mr. BENTON would return the fire.

Mr. Webster had not seen Mr. Wilson for many years, but he came to him now prematurely old, with fortune wrecked, and told him of his desire to emigrate to California for his family's sake. As far as he was concerned, poverty mattered not, but on account of those dear to him he wished to try and mend his fortunes. He therefore desired a letter to some one in California which would say that Webster knew him to be a respectable person worthy of confidence. Webster said he knew no one in California.

Mr. Wilson insisted that this would make no difference, as everybody would know him and that therefore a certificate from him would be the most valuable testimonial he could have. Webster said he would write one with pleasure, but suggested that Colonel BENTON, who almost owns California, could give a letter to Frémont and others that would be of great benefit to him. Wilson looked at Webster in astonishment and said he would not speak to BENTON, "No, not if it were to save the life of every member of my family;" that the

thought of it made him shudder; that he felt indignant at its mention, since Webster knew that they were unfriendly. Mr. Webster replied that he understood the situation, and, turning to his desk, wrote the following note to Mr. BENTON:

DEAR SIR: I am well aware of the disputes, personal and political, which have taken place between yourself and the bearer of this note, Mr. John Wilson. But he is now old, and is going to California and needs a letter of recommendation. You know everybody, and a letter from you would do him good. I have assured Mr. Wilson that it would give you more pleasure to forget what has passed between you and him and to give him a letter that will do him good than it will him to receive it. I am going to persuade him to carry you this note.

Webster then read the note to Wilson, who promptly refused to carry it. After long and determined persistence on Webster's part, Wilson softened down and agreed to leave the letter at the door. He told Webster afterwards that he took the note and delivered it, with his card, to BENTON's servant at the door, and rushed to his apartments. To his great astonishment, in a very few moments a note arrived from Colonel BENTON acknowledging the receipt of the card and note, and stating that Mrs. Benton and he would have much pleasure in receiving Mr. Wilson at breakfast at 9 o'clock next morning. They would wait breakfast for him and no answer was expected. Wilson told Webster afterwards that it so worried him that he lay awake that night thinking of it, and in the morning felt as a man with a sentence of death passed upon him, who had been called by the turnkey to his last breakfast.

Making his toilet, with great hesitation he went to Colonel BENTON's house. He rang the doorbell, but instead of the servant the Colonel himself came to the door. Taking Wilson cordially by both hands, he said: "Wilson, I am delighted to see you; this is the happiest meeting I have had for twenty years. Webster has done the kindest thing he ever did in his

life." Proceeding at once to the dining room, he was presented to Mrs. Benton, and after a few kind words, BENTON remarked: "You and I, Wilson, have been quarreling on the stump for twenty-five years. We have been calling each other hard names, but really with no want of mutual respect and confidence. It has been a foolish political fight, and let's wipe it out of mind. Everything that I have said about you I ask pardon for." Wilson said they both cried, he asked BENTON's pardon, and they were good friends. Colonel BENTON had meantime prepared a number of letters to persons whom he knew in California, in which he commanded them to show Mr. Wilson every favor within their power.

It is not my purpose to refer to acts which the friends of Colonel BENTON would blot from memory, nor to deeds which could bring the tinge of remorse. I would cover his imperfections with the mantle of charity, but would imprint in burning letters, if I could, his patriotism, energy, industry, honesty, and devotion to the right as qualities worthy of emulation. Nor would my remarks be complete did I not refer to that greatest of his virtues, which showed itself in the devotion and affection he exhibited toward his family.

In 1844 his wife suffered a stroke of paralysis, from which she never fully recovered. From that time Colonel BENTON was never known to go to any place of festivity or amusement, but devoted his leisure hours to trying to make comfortable, pleasant, and happy the loved one so sorely afflicted. No man, it is said, ever regarded his family with more tender solicitude than did he. In this are evinced, perhaps, the true qualities of the man as much as in anything occurring in the days of his eventful history. Mrs. Benton, in the language of another, "was the pride and glory of his young ambition, the sweet ornament of his mature fame, and the best love of

his ripened age." These are the completing qualities which enable us to know him who was—

Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,
But to those men that sought him sweet as summer.

Colonel BENTON died April 10, 1858, leaving as his last audible words "I am comfortable and content." On the day of his burial all business in St. Louis was suspended, every court adjourned, and it is said that 40,000 people were present and sought to pay their last tribute of respect. Before the adjournment of the United States circuit court for the district of Missouri on that day, at the announcement of the burial of Colonel BENTON, Judge Wells, of that court, said:

I have heard with great sensibility of the death of Colonel BENTON, one of the oldest members of this bar. He was a man who devoted nearly all his life to the service of this State. Colonel BENTON and myself became acquainted about forty years ago, and through all that time there was an undeviating friendship between us. It is a great mistake to suppose that a difference of opinion would disturb the friendship entered into by Colonel BENTON. It was only when he supposed that he received a personal affront, or that such was intended, that he ever deviated from it.

He was a man of great talents, great energy, and indomitable will. He devoted all those great qualities not to his own interest, but to the interest of the Union and to this State. I have it from the highest authority that, to remain in this State and to devote his services to her interests, he refused the highest gifts in the power of the United States Government to bestow. He refused the office of Chief Justice of the United States; he refused being put in nomination for Vice-President and other high offices, all through a desire to serve this State. As a father, as a husband, and in all the domestic relations, he was a model. This I know personally, as I was intimate in his family for several months. His private and domestic ties were only second to his public duties. He was devoted to the prosperity of this State and to the glory and perpetuity of our Union.

The following eloquent tribute to Colonel BENTON is taken from the issue of one of the St. Louis papers on the day of the interment:

Greatness is ended,
An unsubstantial pageant all;
Droop o'er the scene the funeral pall.

Weave the cypress for the bier of the departed; gather the burial cortege to lay his body within its final home; summon fitting words of

eulogy to voice the sorrow of those who knew him in life and mourn him in death.

For this day, amid the drooping of banners, the low wail of martial music, and the multitudinous concourse of our citizens the solemn words "dust to dust, and ashes to ashes" will be spoken over the remains of THOMAS H. BENTON, a statesman without peer, a patriot without price. Let us deal gently with his errors, remember his labor, and embalm his virtues. In his public services and in his private attachments, in his arduous labor and in his majestic death, he had earned an abiding place in the memory of the American people, whilst his name will be emblazoned more in the future than in the present as one of the most illustrious of those who gave so much of renown to the deliberations of our National Council.

Missouri is proud of her honored dead. She rejoices in the achievements of her sons. Many of her names are written high on the mount of fame. These two are not alone the object of her admiration. In statesmanship many others are registered near the top of the scroll of honor; in legal attainment she ranks well in the sisterhood of States; in educational advantages she is seldom surpassed, and in natural resources is without a peer.

Aside from these advantages, the chief glory of the Missourian is in the honor and integrity of his citizenship. Charged with being border ruffian by those who do not understand the character of her people, with being outlaws by those who have no knowledge of their morality, with being uncontent and illiterate by those who have not learned of the education and refinement of her sons and daughters, she stands without a superior in the galaxy of States in the rectitude of her intentions. This great State brings to you to-day all that she has the power to do in honoring the dead and humbly asks that these chiseled emblems, representing her sons, shall find suitable place in that apartment fixed by law for that purpose, that, as the years roll on, it will be observed that she is not

forgetful in cherishing the memory of those who have wrought so nobly for her welfare.

Mr. BLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask for the adoption of the resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Connolly). The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Bland].

The resolution was agreed to.

ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUES OF THOMAS H. BENTON AND FRANCIS P. BLAIR.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE.

MAY 19, 1900.

MR. COCKRELL. Mr. President, in pursuance of the notice heretofore given, I present a letter from the governor of the State of Missouri, which I ask may be read by the Secretary.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

To the Senate and House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

GENTLEMEN: In the year 1895 the general assembly of the State of Missouri passed an act making an appropriation to have statues made of THOMAS H. BENTON and FRANCIS P. BLAIR, to be placed in Statuary Hall, in the Capitol at Washington. In the act referred to, William J. Stone, Odin Guitar, Peter L. Foy, B. B. Cahoon, O. H. Sencer, and James H. Birch were constituted a commission to have the statues made and properly placed. I am now informed by the commissioners that the statues are completed and ready to be presented to Congress.

I have the honor, therefore, as governor of Missouri, to present to the Government of the United States, through the Congress, the statues of the distinguished statesmen named, and to ask that they may be assigned a place in the hall dedicated to such uses at the Capitol.

Very respectfully,

LON V. STEPHENS, *Governor.*

MR. COCKRELL. I ask that the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives may be laid before the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives, which will be read.

The Secretary read as follows:

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

February 4, 1899.

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the thanks of Congress be presented to the State of Missouri for providing and furnishing statues of THOMAS HART BENTON, a deceased person, who has been a citizen thereof and illustrious for his historic renown and for distinguished civic services, and of FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, a deceased person, who has been a citizen thereof and illustrious for his historic renown and for distinguished civic and military services.

Resolved, That the statues be accepted and placed in the National Statuary Hall in the Capitol, and that a copy of these resolutions duly authenticated be transmitted to the governor of the State of Missouri.

ADDRESS OF MR. VEST, OF MISSOURI.

THOMAS H. BENTON.

Mr. President, nothing could more clearly show how rapidly the bitter memories of the civil war are passing away than the fact that Missouri sends to the National Capitol the statues of THOMAS H. BENTON and FRANK P. BLAIR, Jr.

The first great conflict over African slavery in the United States occurred when Missouri was admitted into the Union as a slave State, accompanied by the enactment of what was known as the Missouri compromise, which provided that north of 36° 30' latitude slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, should never exist. The next contest over slavery came with the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill in 1854, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the birth of the Republican party upon the distinct issue of free soil and opposition to the extension of slavery.

This was followed by that terrible border war upon the frontiers of Missouri and Kansas, which depopulated whole counties, destroyed towns and villages, and reddened the midnight sky with the lurid glare of burning homes. Old John Brown declared upon the scaffold at Charlestown, W. Va., that he had invaded Missouri three years before he attacked Virginia, and had carried off seven slaves from Bates County to Canada without firing a gun. Literally he fired no guns, but he murdered in cold blood, with knives, one of the best men in Bates County, who attempted to prevent forcibly the outrage on his property.

No State in the Union suffered more from internecine strife and neighborhood war than Missouri. The wounds inflicted

were deep and cruel, no man being willing to prophesy when their memory would pass away. But to-day Missouri sends to the National Capitol and to Statuary Hall the marble images of two men whose whole public lives were given to the cause of free soil and against the further extension of African slavery.

Immediately after the Revolutionary war, and even before it had closed, emigrants commenced passing over the Appalachian Range into the gloomy forests of Kentucky and Tennessee to contest supremacy over the soil with the Indians and wild beasts. This emigration was composed largely of Scotch-Irish blood, that most remarkable of all the races which have existed upon this continent, independent, self-willed, impatient of restraint, yet not given to disorder; every man a soldier and his own leader; every woman fit to be the mother of heroes. This Scotch-Irish blood has given to the Western States, into which they went, blazing the paths of civilization with the ax in one hand and the rifle in the other, men who have impressed themselves in war and peace upon these great communities.

Nearly all the leading families of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri came from this Scotch-Irish lineage, which possessed so much of individual and racial antipathies; always determined in their own opinions, and with strong passions and high prejudices, but at the same time deeply religious, their religion being militant, like that of the old Jews, who for forty years went through the wilderness praying by night and fighting by day, but always carrying with them the Ark of the Covenant. This Scotch-Irish blood has given to these Western States men who molded their institutions and impressed themselves indelibly upon their destiny—the Jacksons, Hardins, Clarks, McCullochs, McClemonds, McKees, Estills, and Gentrys. Both their ancestors and their descendants have been leaders in every community where they became citizens.

With this remarkable pioneer migration across the Appalachian Range of Scotch-Irish lineage there went also a small contingent of Virginians, another most remarkable race. They were the cavaliers of England, who, after they lost the cause of the Stuarts, and before the restoration of Charles II, came from England to Virginia. They were the men who charged with Prince Rupert against the ironsides of Cromwell and knew no fear. Among these families, descendants of whom can be found to-day in the Old Dominion, and in the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri, were the Lees, known in England as the Loyal Lees, who gave to Virginia Light-Horse Harry in the Revolution, William Henry Lee in the councils of Congress, and Robert E. Lee, the peerless leader of his countrymen in our civil war. Side by side with the Lees who charged under Prince Rupert were the Bentons. THOMAS H. BENTON was descended from this family, and passed across the Appalachian Range from North Carolina, where his father had settled, to cast his destinies with the frontiersmen of Tennessee.

BENTON'S father, unlike the fathers of the Scotch-Irish immigrants, was not an extremely poor man. The Benton family was entirely different in its circumstances from that of Andrew Jackson. Jackson's mother was a widow in very indigent circumstances, unable at times to procure the necessities of life, and one of the most pathetic pictures of all our early history is that of Jackson's mother walking more than 40 miles to see her two boys, prisoners to the British, begging her way as she went, without even an animal to ride. BENTON'S father was a lawyer in good practice, and he gave his son a collegiate education at Chapel Hill, in North Carolina. His mother was a Virginian. His father came directly from English lineage and his mother indirectly through one of the

splendid families of old Virginia, that furnished warriors and statesmen, the State which is known as the mother of States and statesmen. These people are described by Theodore Roosevelt, now governor of the State of New York, in his *Life of Thomas H. Benton*—one of the American series—in a few lines, and I ask the Secretary to read them.

THE PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The Secretary will read as requested.

The Secretary read as follows:

The world has never seen better soldiers than those who followed Lee, and their leader will undoubtedly rank as without any exception the very greatest of all the great captains that the English-speaking peoples have brought forth; and this, although the last and chief of his antagonists, may himself claim to stand as the full equal of Marlborough and Wellington.

MR. VEST. Mr. President, I make no apology for having this quotation read, because it is worthy of this era of fraternization and of the gallant soldier who penned those lines. No man knows better the descendants of the old Virginians and the Scotch-Irish, the people of the great Commonwealths of the West, than Theodore Roosevelt. He led them up that historic hill at Santiago when closed the Cuban war, and he knows that the Rough Riders whom he led were the legitimate descendants of those ancestors of whom I have spoken, having simply laid aside the ax and rifle for the pistol and lariat of the plains.

Colonel BENTON, as I have stated, was born in North Carolina, and his father, dying in middle age, left to the family a large tract of land near Nashville, Tenn., to which the widow removed, THOMAS H. BENTON being the second son. Young BENTON grew up on this tract of land, on which is located the town bearing the family name of Benton, and his life was like that of the average young frontiersman. He indulged in all the rough and exciting amusements and pursuits of that early

era. He fought chickens and fought the Indians. He ran horses and ran for the legislature. He indulged in street brawls and affrays, not entirely creditable, in one of which Andrew Jackson was his opponent, both being badly wounded. No prophet could then foresee that in after years BENTON, as Senator from Missouri, would become the great ally of Jackson as President of the United States.

BENTON served two years in the Tennessee legislature, introducing a bill to divide the State into judicial districts, which became a law, and also a bill, enacted into law, giving to negro slaves who were charged with criminal offenses the right of trial by jury. This latter measure of legislation shows that Colonel BENTON did not belong to that extreme Southern class who thought that negroes were mere chattels, to be bought and sold, and not human beings. BENTON, although a slaveholder, was never an advocate of the institution of slavery. He resented deeply the idea of interference from other States whose people had owned slaves and then from self-interest had done away with the institution; but he did not believe that slavery should be extended or that it was beneficial either to the slave or the slave owner.

He was one of that class of national statesmen at the head of whom was Thomas Jefferson, and to which belonged Henry Clay, Houston, Davy Crockett, and Chief Justice Taney, who delivered the celebrated Dred Scott decision. In all his life BENTON never hesitated to express his opinion in regard to the institution of slavery as an economic institution, while at the same time he resented deeply any intimation that the Southern people were entirely responsible for its existence.

Just after the close of the war of 1812 BENTON removed to the Territory of Missouri and settled in the old French village of St. Genevieve, 35 miles below St. Louis, on the Mississippi

River. Not long since I saw the law office, built of cypress logs, in which he practiced his profession and from which you could look out across the broad expanse of the Father of Rivers. He remained at St. Genevieve only a few years. The place was too small for his aggressive spirit, and he removed to St. Louis, then giving promise of becoming the great empress of the Mississippi Valley.

Here he almost immediately became actively engaged in the practice of law and political life. He was unfortunately involved in a quarrel soon after he became a citizen of St. Louis with young Lucas, a promising member of the bar and a son of Judge Lucas, who was the wealthiest and most influential Whig in the Missouri Territory. I do not care to speak at length about personal matters, but it would not be perhaps improper to make a statement in regard to the tragic event which cast a shadow over Colonel BENTON's subsequent life and was the constant source of attack in all his political career.

BENTON, as I have said, came from that old Virginia stock that was extremely sensitive as to personal honor. No man living ever attacked Colonel BENTON personally in regard to his integrity without being called to account. The lazzaroni of politics who indulge in declamation and general statement fled before him, and the man who remained to make the charge was compelled sooner or later to meet him face to face. I never agreed with him politically, but standing here to-day I simply state what I know to be true—that, so far as the world could observe, he never knew the sensation of fear, either in public or private life.

At the first election after BENTON went to St. Louis and offered to vote, young Lucas challenged his vote. He challenged it after BENTON had sworn that he was a bona fide citizen of the city of St. Louis and had come there to remain.

BENTON considered this as a charge of perjury, and he declared, the only time I ever heard that he mentioned the event afterwards, that it would only be removed by an abject and full apology or by blood. He promptly challenged Lucas. They fought upon Bloody Island, just below the city of St. Louis, in the Mississippi River. Lucas was almost mortally wounded. BENTON waited until he was convalescent and challenged him again. In the second encounter Lucas was killed. Colonel BENTON never admitted that in the absence of a full apology, after what Lucas had done, he could retain his self-respect or deserve that of others until he killed the man who had attacked his honor.

Mr. President, all this sounds to us now as semibarbarous, and yet if we carry ourselves back to the age in which this event occurred and place ourselves in the position public men then held it will, I think, charitably be admitted that, entertaining the opinion he did and in the community he lived, BENTON could hardly have done anything else. Dueling was then an institution. No man could remain in public or social life without ostracism who refused what they called a challenge to the field of honor. All the distinguished men of the United States fought duels. When Randolph and Clay fought, in sight of this Capitol, members of the Cabinet and members of the Senate and House of Representatives, among whom was Colonel BENTON, were present as spectators. Jackson had killed his adversary in a duel. Houston had fought a duel and wounded his opponent severely. Davy Crockett acknowledged the obligations of the duello and participated in it, and it was not until Hamilton fell before the deadly pistol of Aaron Burr that even the people of the conservative, God-fearing North came to a full realization of the terrible nature of this institution.

Colonel BENTON was elected to the United States Senate from the new State of Missouri, the second United States Senator, David Barton being the first. The Oregon question was then pending in the Senate of the United States, and the people throughout our country were preparing for war with Great Britain. England and the United States had been national tenants in common of that vast expanse of country now comprising a large proportion of the Vancouver district of British America and the great States of Oregon and Washington. The rival interests of the fur companies, the Hudson Bay Company, in England, and the North American Fur Company, under Astor, in the United States, soon brought about even armed conflict, and it became absolutely necessary to settle the boundary line between the possessions of the two countries. Colonel BENTON when he entered Congress threw himself with his usual aggressiveness into the middle of the fight. He declared that the United States must hold every inch of the disputed territory, and that with 10,000 Missourians he could settle the question in sixty days. BENTON believed in what was called manifest destiny, which meant that the people of the United States had a right to take all the territory that adjoined them, if they thought proper to do so.

In his first speech delivered in the Senate upon the Oregon question, which was addressed to this body in his ore rotundo style and with great effusion of classical reference, he stated that the United States must take this territory without compromise, without question, and that it would soon be peopled by millions of Orientals—Chinese and Japanese—who would come to our shores, adopt our institutions, law, and religion, and become our best citizens. If Colonel BENTON could have lived but a few years more, he would have seen those Orientals

whom he hospitably invited to our shores fleeing at night, shot down by brutal mobs in the light of their burning homes. Colonel BENTON overlooked, great man as he was, the racial antagonism which is above all human law.

The Oregon question passed away without armed conflict, but leaving unpleasant reminiscences in regard to the negotiations between the two countries, and BENTON then addressed himself to the material interests of the great West, whose representative he peculiarly was. He advocated with great power cutting down the immense Indian reservations, so that instead of being under the control of the savages they might become the happy homes of industrious whites. He above all other men was entitled to the credit for the establishment of our land system, the homestead and preemption laws, and the sales of our other lands at \$1.25 an acre to actual settlers. He opposed vigorously that iniquitous system of putting up the public lands to the highest bidder, which unquestionably placed them all eventually in the hands of syndicates and speculators.

He passed through Congress a bill making the old Santa Fe trail a national highway, to be defended by the soldiers of the Federal Government, and he terminated in a very few years by that legislation the bloodshed which for so long had occurred on the trail between Independence, Mo., and Santa Fe and Albuquerque, in New Mexico, when the Sioux, Apaches, Comanches, and Pawnees attacked every caravan unless it was too strong to be overpowered.

In 1828 came a great parliamentary contest in which BENTON bore conspicuous part. Mr. Calhoun then advanced his idea of nullification by a State of Federal legislation when the people of that State believed the enactment of such legislation was absolutely destructive of their best interests. Slavery was not involved in that contest. It was a question of tariff taxation.

Calhoun argued with great ability that a State could remain in the Union and yet nullify an act of the Federal Congress which even the Supreme Court decided to be constitutional.

I have always regarded Mr. Calhoun as one of the greatest analytical disputants this or any other country has ever produced. I have studied his works; but I was never able to appreciate his argument in favor of nullification. Jackson, who was then President, looked upon it as absolute treason, and declared that if Calhoun undertook to carry it out he would hang him as high as Haman. Clay and Webster stood by the side of BENTON in defending the position taken by Jackson, and although there was a compromise without armed conflict between South Carolina and the General Government, I have no doubt that the nullification contest of 1828 influenced all the subsequent career of Colonel BENTON, and the opinions he then formed were responsible for his final political overthrow in Missouri.

Colonel BENTON, above all men—I will not say above all men, but certainly without any superior in the regard I am about to mention—loved the Union. It colored and influenced all his life, and he firmly believed that Mr. Calhoun was a traitor and had then inaugurated or attempted to inaugurate a scheme to establish a Southern confederacy based upon the institution of African slavery. Notwithstanding many acrimonious debates, he renewed his friendship with Webster and Clay, but never forgave Mr. Calhoun. I heard him in 1856, when a candidate for governor of Missouri, declare emphatically in a public address that if he had been President in 1828, instead of threatening to hang Calhoun, he would have hanged him on the eastern exposure of the Capitol, and appealed to the people of the United States to vindicate his action.

A few years after the nullification struggle came the great

conflict over the old United States Bank, when Jackson, with his usual impetuosity and self-will, took the institution out of the hands of Nicholas Biddle and removed the deposits. Whether he had a right to do that or not, which I do not care now to discuss, because it is ancient history, Jackson believed that he was doing his duty, and the people of the United States by a large majority vindicated his action. Clay, Calhoun, and Webster attacked the Administration on account of the removal of the bank deposits, and BENTON, single-handed and alone, fought that great triumvirate day after day in the Senate of the United States until the resolution of censure was passed against Jackson.

Ordinary men would then have given up the conflict, but not so with THOMAS H. BENTON. With him the battle had just commenced. After a short pause he introduced his resolution to expunge the resolution of censure from the records of the Senate. The last night of that terrible struggle, the most remarkable in our parliamentary history, and which took place in what is now the room of the Supreme Court, was signalized by many dramatic incidents. BENTON said, and I have no doubt believed, that he was to be assassinated upon that night from the gallery, and he stood in the Chamber, throwing open his coat and vest, and daring the bank robbers to attack him.

Then, as now, the Senate of the United States had no previous question, and the matter could be determined only by a war of exhaustion physically. BENTON stocked the committee rooms with provisions and liquors so that starvation might not weaken his forces. And, singularly enough, after succeeding in expunging the hated resolution, BENTON regarded that as the great triumph of his life. He never spoke afterwards before the people of Missouri without declaring that, single-handed and alone, BENTON put this ball in motion. As a

matter of practical and material legislation it amounted to nothing. As a personal triumph Colonel BENTON regarded it as the crowning glory of his long and able public career.

Passing over intermediate events, I come now to the crisis in BENTON's remarkable public life. The question of slavery had remained not in a quiescent attitude, but not the foremost question in the politics of the day until after the Mexican war, when Texas applied for admission to the Union in 1844-45 as a slave State. Colonel BENTON opposed the admission of Texas, and it sounded the knell of his fate in Missouri. A young, ambitious, and able coterie of politicians had grown up in Missouri while BENTON during thirty or nearly thirty years had labored in Washington. His manners were not such as to make him popular. He was aggressive and almost insulting to men who differed with him. To give a single instance of his manner of meeting the people: In one of the counties of my old circuit when I first commenced practicing law was a most excellent, learned, and modest man, not a politician, an old Virginian of moderate estate, a gentleman of culture, and a Democrat beyond question, who had supported Colonel BENTON for more than twenty-five years. He saw proper to express his disapproval of Colonel BENTON's course in regard to the admission of Texas. After speaking at the county town, and when the crowd came forward, as is the custom to-day, to shake hands with an eminent speaker, this gentleman, after the press of the crowd had disappeared, advanced and in old Virginia style extended his hand and saluted Colonel BENTON. In the presence of the audience, who had not yet dispersed, BENTON looked at him from head to foot without a single evidence of recognition. This gentleman, bowing, said: "You possibly have forgotton me, Colonel BENTON; I am Mr. ———." Drawing himself up to his full height, BENTON

replied in tones that could be heard in every part of the building, "Sir, BENTON once knew a man by that name, but he is dead; yes, sir, he is dead." And so he went into every county in the State, denouncing every man by name who dared to oppose his political action.

As a matter of course, there could be but one way of determining an issue between Colonel BENTON and those who differed with him. He made no compromise; he asked none. Every citizen must either agree with him or be ranked as his personal and political enemy. It was his nature, and he could no more change it than he could the color of his hair and eyes.

Colonel BENTON was assailed by his enemies because he had advocated the admission of Missouri as a slave State and then opposed the admission of Texas as a slave State. His reply was imperfect and not satisfactory. He said he was opposed to the extension of slavery; that slavery existed in the Louisiana purchase when Jefferson bought it from France, but that slavery had not existed on the soil of Mexico, and therefore Texas should not come in as a slave State.

Colonel BENTON advocated the Missouri compromise, which accompanied the admission of Missouri into the Union. That compromise directly declared that slavery should not exist north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, but if it meant anything it suggested that a State south of $36^{\circ} 30'$ could be admitted into the Union as a slave State if the people so desired. Colonel BENTON was accused by his enemies of being selfishly prompted when Missouri was admitted, because he expected to be a United States Senator. It had its weight with a large number of people in Missouri, but for myself I never believed the charge to be true, because of all the public men I have ever known THOMAS H. BENTON considered less than any other the political effect upon himself.

He opposed the admission of Texas, as I believed then and believe now, because he thought it was a part of Calhoun's scheme to dissolve the Union. Never after the nullification fight of 1828 did BENTON waver in his opinion that there was a conspiracy to break up the Union and establish a Southern confederacy upon the basis of slavery.

No man who ever existed in the public life of this country more completely and apparently committed suicide than THOMAS H. BENTON. He knew as well or better than any other man what the prejudice and opinions of the people of Missouri were on the subject of slavery, and their sympathy with their brethren from the Southern States that had gone to Texas, thrown off the yoke, and established an independent State.

But more than this, he knew there was not a family in western Missouri that had not lost father, brother, husband, or son upon the Santa Fe trail, fighting those murderous savages who attacked every trapper and every caravan too small to resist them, and that the people of Missouri firmly believed that the Mexicans had incited the Indians to make these attacks. It was well known that the merchants of Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Tamaulipas, and the other northern Mexican States objected to the trade between Missouri and New Mexico. It was extremely lucrative to these Mexican merchants to have a monopoly of the sale of goods to their own people, and whenever any of these murderous Indians were made prisoners by the Missourians there were always found amongst them Mexicans dressed like the Indians, appealing to their passions and prejudices and leading them on to these terrible outrages.

Colonel BENTON, knowing all these things, did not hesitate. The legislature of Missouri in 1848 passed resolutions censuring his course on the Texas question, and declaring that Missouri

would share the fate of her Southern brethren. The challenge was promptly accepted. BENTON came back from Washington, canvassed the State in a vitriolic campaign such as has never been known. If any man amongst his opponents had a weak place in his armor, BENTON found it out and assailed him by name. That he lived through this canvass was a miracle, for the men of the frontier were quick to avenge an insult or a wrong, and there was not a speech made by him in which drawn pistols and knives were not brandished in his face. His personal fearlessness saved his life, for if there was one quality more prized than another upon the frontier it was insensibility to personal danger.

BENTON was defeated in his appeal to the people in 1849, and Henry S. Geyer, a prominent Whig lawyer of St. Louis, was elected to succeed him in the Senate by a fusion of the Whigs and anti-Benton Democrats.

Colonel BENTON came back to Washington and commenced the preparation of his *Thirty Years' View*, the most valuable political treatise known in our history.

In 1852 he was elected to the National House of Representatives from St. Louis, the only district in the State that had a Free Soil majority. At the end of two years he was defeated by a Knownothing candidate, and again went back to his literary labor.

In 1856, when there were three candidates for the Presidency, his own son-in-law being the candidate of the Republican party, BENTON declared himself for Buchanan and became an independent Democratic candidate for governor of Missouri. He was the third candidate in the race. Trusten Polk, the regular Democratic candidate, was elected to this body, and Colonel BENTON returned again to Washington City for the purpose of finishing his *Thirty Years' View* and commencing the preparation of his digest of debates of Congress from the beginning of

the Government down to that time. He also prepared a severe attack, in the shape of a pamphlet, against the Supreme Court for its decision in the Dred Scott case.

But his race for governor in 1856 closed his political career forever. He died here in 1858 and was buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery, in the city of St. Louis, where he had lived, the funeral being attended by over 40,000 people from all parts of Missouri and the adjacent States.

It has been often asked, Mr. President, whether BENTON was the equal of his three contemporaries, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun. He was not the equal of Mr. Clay as an orator; he was not the equal of Mr. Webster as a lawyer; he was not the equal of Mr. Calhoun as a close, analytical debater and disputant; but he was the superior of any of the three as a valuable, all around legislator. His industry was unparalleled, his honesty above question, his courage, morally and physically, equal to that of any man who ever lived upon this earth.

BENTON was not a Southern Democrat; he was a National Democrat. He appreciated more thoroughly than any man of his era the possibilities of that vast country west of the Mississippi, destined to become the seat of empire upon this continent. I heard him at a little town on the Missouri River, standing with his right arm extended, declare, with the air and tones of an ancient prophet, "There is the East; there is the road to India," and upon his bronze statue in Forest Park in St. Louis to-day upon the pedestal are engraved these prophetic words. He declared, and men laughed at him when he said it, that this continent would be bound together by bands of iron which would carry our produce to the Pacific slope to feed the innumerable millions in Asia and the Orient.

FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

BENTON's political mantle fell logically and inevitably upon the shoulders of his protégé, FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

BLAIR was the son of BENTON's old friend Francis Preston Blair, who died here some years ago at Silver Springs, almost in sight of this city. When Duff Green, who was the original editor of the old *Globe*, the organ of the Democrats at Washington, had differences of opinion with General Jackson as President, the Administration looked around for a younger man of great ability and experience in journalism to take Green's place.

Preston Blair, as he was termed, was then part owner and chief editor of the old *Argus*, of Frankfort, Ky., the birthplace of young FRANK BLAIR. It was what was called in the new and old court struggle in Kentucky the new court organ. But Jackson and BENTON, who had then become great friends, sent for Preston Blair and made him the chief editor of the *Globe*. It was but natural that Colonel BENTON should ask his old friend to send his youngest boy, who had been raised in Washington, to the city of St. Louis to become the protégé of BENTON. And so FRANK BLAIR, as he was called in Missouri, became a member of the St. Louis bar, and, thoroughly imbued with the political prejudices and opinions of his father and BENTON and Jackson, became the leader of the Benton Democracy in that city.

After the death of BENTON, in 1858, BLAIR became a member of the National House of Representatives for the district where BENTON had been defeated. He knew the people of Missouri and Kentucky well and that all their prejudices and opinions were in behalf of the South. He knew that the State government, all the State officers from the governor down, and all the

legislature, with but very few exceptions, were devoted to the South. He knew that the Missourians were a martial people, trained to the saddle and the use of arms from boyhood, and he was certain that unless vigorous measures were immediately taken to prevent the State from organizing it would throw its vast military power with the side of the Confederate States.

BLAIR immediately and secretly commenced the organization of seven regiments of Germans in the city of St. Louis, a people trained as soldiers in the Fatherland, devoted to the Union, and opposed to slavery. He became, having had some experience in the Mexican war, colonel of the first regiment, and, member of the National House of Representatives as he was, when Lincoln was elected, he hastened to Washington and informed Lincoln of the situation in Missouri; that the United States arsenal was filled with munitions of war and arms and must be seized or it would be taken and used to arm the militia of the State. He asked for an officer educated at West Point to take command of the arsenal and of the Federal forces in Missouri.

Lincoln, a citizen of Illinois and familiar with Missouri politics, appreciated what BLAIR said and immediately sent Nathaniel Lyon, of Connecticut, a West Pointer, to take charge of the troops already organized and drilled by BLAIR in St. Louis. Lyon fell on Bloody Hill at the battle of Springfield, as it is called by the Federals, and the battle of Oak Hill, as it is called by the Confederates. He fell in a last desperate charge. If he had lived, his fame would have rivaled that of any man in the civil war. So soon as BLAIR had conferred with Lyon, the latter adopted the plan of campaign which BLAIR suggested. The State government, devoted to the Confederacy, had formed a camp of instruction in the vicinity of St. Louis, composed of young men, ardent advocates of the Southern cause.

On a bright morning, without premonition, BLAIR and Lyon surrounded these 1,200 State militia with 6,000 Germans, armed and drilled, captured them, broke up the camp, and started to the city with their prisoners. The people of St. Louis, taken by surprise and greatly excited, surrounded the captors and the captured. A German captain, aggravated and incensed by the jeers and insults of the crowd, ordered his men to fire upon the inoffensive and unarmed people. More than 40 were killed and wounded—men, women, and children—and in a few hours the State was aflame with indignation.

BLAIR, although he was not anticipating what was called the massacre, was immediately prepared for action against the consequences. He knew that the railroad, the only railroad running west from St. Louis, would be destroyed by the State government, but he seized five steamboats lying at the wharf, put crews upon them, went up the river with his German regiments, captured Jefferson City, the capital, dispersed the State government, overwhelmed the few hundred militia, unarmed and undisciplined, who met him at Booneville, and, in my judgment, caused Missouri to divide her forces in the war between the North and the South instead of going solidly to the Confederate cause, as but for him would have been the case.

I say here now to-day, deliberately, from my personal knowledge of affairs then in the State, that but for FRANK BLAIR Missouri would have given her solid strength to the Southern cause. I do not choose to conjecture what would have been the result. Southern Illinois, Kentucky, and Maryland, as all the world knows, sympathized with the South, and the result of the war might have been different but for the wonderful fearlessness and promptitude with which BLAIR acted. As it was, the men of Missouri at heart in sympathy with the South were unable to reach the Confederate armies

except at the risk of their lives. BLAIR, believing that the State was entirely safe to the Union, as he informed Lincoln, then took his regiment—the first regiment—and joined the Army of the Cumberland. He rose to the rank of major-general and commanded a corps at the close of the war.

When he came back to Missouri the attitude of affairs had changed entirely. The Girondists, under the leadership of Hamilton R. Gamble, had disappeared, and the Jacobins, under the leadership of Charles D. Drake, were in possession of the State. The Drake constitution had been enacted—the most drastic, the most cruel, the most outrageous enactment ever known in a civilized country. No man could practice law, teach school, preach the gospel, act as trustee, hold any office of honor, trust, or profit, or vote at any election, unless he swore he had never sympathized with the cause of the Confederacy or any person fighting for it. The father who had given a drink of water or a crust of bread to his son who belonged to the Confederate forces was ostracised and put under the ban of the law.

The intelligence, virtue, and property of the State were driven away from the polls, and ignorance, crime, and vice took complete control. Old obsolete railroad charters, passed years before, giving county courts the right to subscribe for the construction of railroads without a vote of the people, were revived. Millions of dollars of fraudulent bonds were issued by bought county courts. Nearly \$20,000,000 of these bonds were hurried out of the State, sold to pretended bona fide buyers, and, under the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, they became commercial paper negotiated before maturity for a valuable consideration to innocent purchasers.

BLAIR came back and went to the polls, dressed in his major-general's uniform, and demanded the right to vote without

taking the oath. It was denied, and he immediately commenced suit against the election officials. Pending that suit, a Catholic priest named Cummings, who had instituted a similar proceeding, had his case adjudicated by the Supreme Court, and it was decided that the Drake constitution violated that of the United States and was a bill of attainder and ex post facto law. General BLAIR, not satisfied, attacked the Drake party throughout the Commonwealth, and canvassed it from one end to the other, denouncing the men who were perpetrating these iniquities upon the people of the State. He was nominated in 1868 upon the ticket with Seymour for the Vice-Presidency, but defeated. He was then elected to the Missouri legislature, and before he had fairly taken his seat Drake was made by Grant chief justice of the Court of Claims, and BLAIR was elected to fill out his unexpired term. At the end of that term his health was completely shattered, and he was defeated for reelection simply upon the ground that he was physically unable to discharge his Senatorial duties.

He had more personal friends than any public man who ever lived in Missouri. He had bitter enemies, like all men of positive convictions will always have, but even his enemies never doubted FRANK BLAIR's sincerity, and always respected him because he was open, fair, fearless, honest, and true to his convictions.

Mr. President, these men sleep together in Missouri soil almost side by side, and so long as this Capitol shall stand or this nation exist their statues will be eloquent although silent pledges of Missouri's eternal allegiance to an eternal Union.

ADDRESS OF MR. COCKRELL, OF MISSOURI.

THOMAS HART BENTON.

Mr. President, it is exceedingly appropriate that the State of Missouri should provide and furnish the marble statues of THOMAS HART BENTON and FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR as the two deceased persons who have been citizens thereof and illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic services.

BENTON was Missouri's great Senator and benefactor, and upon his death BLAIR became his successor in accomplishing many measures dear to him.

Parentage and environments in youth to manhood have great influence in developing the elements of character.

BENTON was born near Hillsboro, in Orange County, N. C., on March 14, 1782.

His father was Col. Jesse Benton, a lawyer of high standing and distinction, who was the private secretary of Governor Tryon, the last royal governor of North Carolina. His mother was Ann Gooch, of Hanover County, Va.

He was a cousin of the wife of Henry Clay, born Lucretia Hart, and was often, by an easy mistake, quoted as a relative of Mr. Clay. BENTON in his autobiography says:

He lost his father before he was 8 years of age and fell under the care of a mother still young and charged with a numerous family, all of tender age, and devoted herself to them.

She was a woman of reading and observation—solid reading and observation of the men of the Revolution brought together by course of hospitality of that time, in which the houses of friends and not taverns were the universal stopping places.

Thomas was the oldest son, and at the age of 10 and 12 was reading solid books with his mother and studying the great examples of history and receiving encouragement to emulate these examples.

His father's library, among others, contained the famous State trials in the large folios of that time, and here he got a foundation of British history in reading the treason and other trials with which these volumes abound. She was also a pious and religious woman, cultivating the moral and religious education of her children and connected all her life with the Christian Church, first as a member of the English Episcopalian, and when removal to the great West—then in the wilderness—had broken that connection, then in the Methodist Episcopalian, in which she died. All the minor virtues, as well as the greater, were cherished by her, and her house, the resort of the eminent men of the time, was the abode of temperance, modesty, and decorum. A pack of cards was never seen in her house.

From such a mother all the children received the impress of future character, and she lived to see the fruits of her pious and liberal cares—living a widow above fifty years—and to see her eldest son half through his Senatorial career and taking his place among the historic men of the country, for which she had begun so early to train him. These details deserve to be noted, though small in themselves, as showing how much the after life of the man may depend upon the early cares and guidance of a mother.

He was richly endowed by inheritance from father and mother with a robust, healthful body, capable of the greatest possible labors and endurance, and a strong, active, grasping, and retentive mind, capable of long, continuous, laborious work and of holding and storing away information and facts, knowledge for use as occasion offered.

His scholastic education was limited. He attended a grammar school, and was then a student at Chapel Hill, the University of North Carolina, but did not finish his course of study, his mother removing to Tennessee, where his father had acquired 40,000 acres of land.

The family settled upon a choice 3,000-acre tract in West Harpeth, 25 miles south of Nashville, the care and management of which fell upon him. It was the outside settlement between civilization and the great Southern Indian tribes, which spread to the Gulf of Mexico, and their great trail led through it. Lands were leased to settlers, and a colony was

soon formed. A log schoolhouse, meetinghouse, and mills were erected.

While his scholastic education had ceased, his studies had not. "History and geography were what he considered his light reading; national law, the civil law, the common law, and, finally, the law itself, as usually read by students, constituted his studies. And all this reading and study was carried on during the active personal exertions which he gave to the opening of the farm and to the ameliorations upon it which comfort exacted."

He was licensed to practice law by the three superior court judges, began the practice, and was successful. He was prominent politically, was the friend of General Jackson, and was soon elected to the general assembly of the State and there began his career as a true reformer, and was the author of the judicial-reform act, substituting the circuit for the superior court system, and of a humane law giving to slaves the same right to trial by jury as the white man had under the same accusation.

Resuming his practice, war was declared by Congress on June 18, 1812, to "exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their Territories."

Volunteers were called for to descend the rivers to New Orleans to meet the British. Three Tennessee regiments were quickly formed, and "THOMAS H. BENTON was appointed colonel of the Second Regiment Tennessee Volunteers, December 10, 1812, and served as of that grade until April 20, 1813."

On the first indications of the war he had been appointed aid-de-camp to General Jackson, commanding the Tennessee militia, and was active and energetic in organizing the regiments.

The volunteers descended to the Lower Mississippi; the British did not then come, and they returned to Tennessee and were temporarily disbanded.

Colonel BEXTON came to Washington and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-ninth Regiment United States Infantry, to rank from June 18, 1813, and proceeded to Canada for service.

The treaty of peace was signed at Ghent on the 24th day of December, 1814, was ratified and confirmed by the Senate on the 17th day of February, 1815, and was proclaimed by President Madison on the 18th day of February, 1815. Under the act of March 3, 1815, for the reduction of the Army to a peace basis, BENTON was discharged as lieutenant-colonel on the 15th day of June, 1815, with three months' extra pay.

He at once made St. Louis his home and recommenced his profession with success, mingling actively in discussing political and public questions and advocating the admission of the Territory of Missouri as a State in the Union. Congress, by act of March 6, 1820, authorized the inhabitants of that portion of the Missouri Territory therein described "to form for themselves a constitution and State government, and to assume such name as they shall deem proper," for admission into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States, fixed the first Monday of May, 1820, and the two next succeeding days for the election of representatives to form a convention, and the second Monday of June, 1820, for the meeting of the convention; and by section 8 prohibited slavery in all that territory ceded by France north of 36° 30' north latitude, which was called the "Missouri Compromise" and adopted after a prolonged and bitter controversy.

The representatives to the convention were elected on the first Monday of May and the two succeeding days, being the

first, second, and third days, and met at St. Louis, Mo., on the second Monday in June, being the 12th day of June, 1820, and completed their labors on July 19, 1820, and passed an ordinance declaring the assent of Missouri to the five conditions and provisions of the enabling act of March 6, 1820, contained in the sixth section of said act, and transmitted to Congress a true and attested copy of such constitution.

The constitution so adopted on July 19, 1820, required the president of the convention to issue writs of election to the sheriffs directing elections to be held on the fourth Monday—the 28th day—of August, 1820, for the election of a governor, lieutenant-governor, Representative in Congress, State senators and representatives, and county officers.

It required the general assembly to meet in St. Louis on the third Monday—the 18th day—of September, 1820, and on the first Monday in November, 1821, and on the first Monday of November, 1822, and thereafter every two years.

Section 26 of the constitution, referring to the general assembly, declared:

It shall be their duty as soon as may be to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to and settling in this State under any pretext whatever.

The election for State and other officers was held on August 28, 1820, and the first general assembly met in St. Louis on September 18, 1820, and the governor and lieutenant-governor elected were duly inaugurated and entered upon their duties, and the senate and house of representatives were duly organized and proceeded with their business, and on October 2, 1820, elected David Barton and THOMAS HART BENTON Senators from that State, BENTON being elected by a majority. The whole machinery of State and county governments was completed and put in operation before the State was admitted into the Union.

On November 14, 1820, the day after Congress convened, the President of the United States sent to the Senate a copy of the constitution so adopted.

On motion of Senator Smith, it was ordered that "a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and if any what, legislative measures may be necessary for admitting the State of Missouri into the Union," and a committee of three was appointed, and the copy of the constitution was referred to the committee and ordered printed. On November 16, 1820, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Scott, who was the Delegate in Congress from the Territory of Missouri elected to the Sixteenth Congress and had been elected the Representative to the Seventeenth Congress, beginning March 4, 1821, presented a manuscript attested copy of the constitution to the House, and it was referred to a select committee of three.

A long and heated controversy arose in the House and in the Senate over the clause in the constitution which I have quoted.

Many measures were proposed and discussed from time to time.

Finally, on the 22d day of February, 1821, Mr. Clay moved the adoption by the House of a resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed on the part of this House, jointly with such committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate, to consider and report to the Senate and House, respectively, whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original States, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States within Missouri; and if not, whether any other, and what, provision adapted to her actual condition ought to be made by law.

This resolution was passed by the House on the same day by yeas 101 and nays 55.

Mr. Clay moved that the committee consist of 23 members, to be elected by ballot, which was agreed to.

On February 23 a ballot was had, and 17 members were

elected on the first ballot. Mr. Clay then moved the rescinding of the order as to the selection of the remaining 6 members, which was agreed to, and the 6 remaining members were appointed by the Speaker.

On February 24 the resolution of the House was reported to the Senate, taken up, and passed by yeas 29, nays 7, and a committee of 7 appointed on the part of the Senate.

On February 26 Mr. Clay, from the joint committee, reported to the House a joint resolution, which was read the first and second times and laid on the table; and afterwards, on same day, considered and passed by yeas 109 and nays 50.

On February 27 the resolution was reported to the Senate and read twice by unanimous consent, and was ordered read a third time by yeas 26, nays 15.

On February 28 the resolution was read the third time in the Senate, and passed by yeas 28, nays 14, and was approved by the President March 2, 1821, and is as follows:

RESOLUTION providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Missouri shall be admitted into this Union on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever upon the fundamental condition that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution, submitted on the part of said State to Congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the States in this Union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the Constitution of the United States: *Provided,* That the legislature of the said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States on or before the fourth Monday in November next an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into this Union shall be considered as complete.

The governor of Missouri called the general assembly in special session on June 4, 1821, which passed "A solemn public act, declaring the assent of this State to the fundamental condition contained in a resolution passed by the Congress of the United States providing for the admission of the State of Missouri into the Union on a certain condition," which was approved June 26, 1821, and transmitted to the President.

On August 10, 1821, President Monroe issued his proclamation announcing the fact, and Missouri was on that day a State in the Union.

The Seventeenth Congress, March 4, 1821, to March 3, 1823, began its first session on December 3, 1821.

The credentials of Barton and BENTON were dated October 9, 1820, certified their election on October 2, and were for the first time presented to the Senate—Barton's on December 3, 1821, and BENTON's on December 6, 1821—were read, and the oath administered to each on said days, respectively, when each took his seat.

On December 6, 1821, on motion of Senator Parrott, the Senate proceeded to ascertain the classes in which the Senators from Missouri should be inserted. Barton drew No. 2, and was assigned to class 3, expiring March 3, 1825; and BENTON drew No. 3, and was assigned to class 1, expiring March 3, 1827.

While they were elected October 2, 1820, before the State was admitted into the Union, on August 10, 1821, and their credentials never presented to the Senate till December 3 and 6, 1821, and no oath previously administered to them, and no record in the Journals of the Senate of their names or presence, the records of the Secretary of the Senate, dated March 3, 1821, and signed by John Gaillard, President pro tempore, show that they were certified to have attended, Barton from November 14, 1820, and BENTON from November 18, 1820, each, to March

3, 1821, and were paid their regular per diem salary and mileage, just as other Senators were. Colonel BENTON was successively reelected for four more terms, and served continuously to March 3, 1851, through the Seventeenth to the Thirty-first Congress, both inclusive, fifteen Congresses.

The sixteenth general assembly of Missouri met December 30, 1850, and sat in joint convention to choose a United States Senator on January 10, 1851, and from day to day till the 22d, when, after a protracted and fierce contest, on the fortieth ballot, Henry S. Geyer, a distinguished lawyer and Whig, was elected by 80 votes to 55 for BENTON, 18 for B. F. Stringfellow, and 4 scattering.

In 1852 he was elected a Representative from St. Louis to the Thirty-third Congress, March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1855, and was defeated for reelection to the Thirty-fourth Congress. Mr. BENTON served in the Seventeenth Congress on Committees on Engrossed Bills, Public Lands, Indian Affairs, and Military Affairs; in the Eighteenth Congress, on Engrossed Bills, Indian Affairs, and Military Affairs; in the Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, and Twenty-second Congresses, on Indian Affairs and Military Affairs; in the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth, and Twenty-sixth Congresses, on Military Affairs only; in the Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Congresses, on Military Affairs and Indian Affairs; in the Twenty-ninth Congress, on Military Affairs and Finance; in the Thirtieth Congress, on Military Affairs and Foreign Relations, and in the Thirty-first Congress, on Foreign Relations only; served twenty-eight years on Military Affairs and sixteen years on Indian Affairs.

In the Thirty-third Congress, in the House, 1853-1855, Mr. BENTON was appointed on the Committee on Military Affairs.

According to the records, Senator BENTON did not introduce

many bills. In fact, during his term comparatively few bills were presented.

In the Twentieth Congress, 1827-1829, there were presented in the Senate 175 bills of a public nature, 73 private bills, and 3 joint resolutions; and in the House, 256 public bills, 206 private bills, and 26 joint resolutions; 126 public acts, 100 private acts, and 9 joint resolutions were passed.

In the Thirtieth Congress, 1847-1849, there were presented in the Senate 275 public bills, 227 private bills, 71 joint resolutions, and 9 private pension bills; and in the House, 449 public bills, 382 private bills, 65 joint resolutions, and 4 private pension bills.

In the Forty-fifth Congress, 1877-1879, there were presented in the Senate 995 public bills, 870 private bills, 72 joint resolutions, and 195 private pension bills; and in the House, 2,710 public bills, 3,899 private bills, 250 joint resolutions, and 1,319 private pension bills; 254 public, 443 private, and 211 private pension acts were passed.

In the Fifty-fifth Congress, 1897-1899, there were presented in the Senate 1,597 public bills, 3,997 private bills, 261 joint resolutions, and 1,876 private pension bills; and in the House, 2,563 public bills, 9,660 private bills, 385 joint resolutions, and 3,768 private pension bills; 449 public, 884 private, and 684 private pension acts were passed.

From 1820 to 1850 Senators had much more time to devote to the investigation and discussion of pending measures, and much less committee work, than in recent years. During his entire term Senator BENTON was punctual in attending the sessions of the Senate, and took an active and conspicuous part in its proceedings. In his discussions of pending questions, his thorough investigation, familiarity with the facts, and clear conception of the influences and the effects, present and future, were made manifest. He exhausted the information and facts touching the subjects he discussed.

When he entered the Senate salt was subject to a tariff tax of 20 cents per bushel of 56 pounds, and the public lands, by the act of April 24, 1820, had been reduced to \$1.25 per acre, cash.

The question of the occupation and settlement of the Oregon Territory on the Columbia River was pending and received his earnest support. He urged the planting of an American colony at the mouth of that river, claiming, with great foresight, that it would result in the accomplishment of Mr. Jefferson's idea of a commercial communication with Asia through the heart of our continent, and that his efforts in that behalf were "nothing but the fruits of the seed planted in his mind by the philosophic hand of Mr. Jefferson, that man of large and useful ideas, that statesman who could conceive measures useful to all mankind and in all time to come."

He opposed the Oregon Joint Occupation Convention with England almost alone, but eighteen years later had the pleasure and honor of almost unanimous support.

He opposed, by many speeches at different times, the tariff tax on imported salt, neither discouraged nor dismayed, and finally succeeded in having it placed on the free list in the tariff law of July 30, 1846.

He opposed the Government leasing the mineral and saline lands, and succeeded in having those in Missouri made subject to entry, as other lands.

He strongly opposed the Panama mission, proposed by President Adams, and the confirmation of the nominees. On motion of Mr. Van Buren, the Senate "Resolved to debate the question with open doors, unless, in the opinion of the President, the publication of documents necessary to be referred to in debate should be prejudicial to existing negotiations."

A copy of the resolution was sent to the President for his opinion on that point. He declined to give it, and left it to

the Senate to decide for itself "the question of an unexampled departure from its own usages and upon the motives of which, not being himself informed, he did not feel himself competent to decide."

A heated and intemperate discussion followed, which quickly cooled off and died out completely.

Senator BENTON maintained with his characteristic firmness the old policy of the United States to avoid entangling alliances and interference with the affairs of other nations, so strongly impressed upon the country by Washington, Jefferson, and others.

When President Jackson, in his first annual message in 1829, raised the question of the constitutionality and expediency of the law creating the Bank of the United States, whose charter would expire in 1836, Mr. BENTON began an unrelenting opposition to its recharter and continued it till success was achieved after a prolonged discussion resulting in much bitterness of feeling and in other questions equally exasperating, including the resolution of censure of President Jackson and the removal of the deposits from the bank.

The resolution of the Senate condemning President Jackson for removing the deposits of the Treasury from the bank was presented December 26, 1833, was changed twice, and finally read, "*Resolved*, That the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both," and was passed March 28, 1834, by yeas 26, nays 20.

On April 15, 1834, President Jackson sent to the Senate his protest against the resolution, which was read in the Senate, and the Senate refused to allow it to be entered upon the records of its Journal.

When the protest was read, Senator BENTON gave notice of his intention to move an expunging resolution against the sentence of the Senate.

On April 21, 1834, the President sent to the Senate a message explanatory of the proper meaning of his protest.

Mr. BENTON, in execution of his unswerving determination, presented his expunging resolution time after time, and argued it in three or more set speeches, and finally, on March 16, 1837, secured its passage by yeas 24 and nays 19—5 absent. He opposed the passage of the law of June 23, 1836, "An act to regulate deposits of the public money," distributing the surplus money in the Treasury to the States.

He favored the law establishing branches of the mint at New Orleans, La., Dahlonega, Ga., and Charlotte, N. C., and the coinage law of January 18, 1837, fixing the standard for both gold and silver coins at nine-tenths fine and one-tenth alloy, which was supplementary to the "Act of April 2, 1792, establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States," our first coinage law, and gave to both gold and silver free and unlimited coinage into full legal-tender money, independently of all nations, at the ratio of 15.988 of silver to 1 of gold, practically 16 to 1, thus reducing the quantity of gold in the dollar and leaving the quantity of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains of silver to the dollar unchanged. He and his colleague, Senator Linn, distinguished and able, secured the passage of the act of June 7, 1836, "An act to extend the western boundary of the State of Missouri to the Missouri River," on the extinguishment of the Indian title and the consent of Missouri. And that magnificent country, comprising six rich and populous counties in north-western Missouri, became a part of Missouri by the President's proclamation of March 28, 1837. He opposed the bill to repeal or rescind the Treasury circular known as the "specie circular," issued under President Jackson, requiring gold and silver coins in payment for public lands, which was passed and vetoed.

He favored the establishment of the independent treasuries for the deposit of public funds and the divorcement of the Government from the banks. He opposed the law of September 4, 1841, for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public land, and the bills to charter a national bank vetoed by President Tyler, and the assumption by the United States of the debts of the States. He opposed the Texas annexation treaty and favored the recognition of the independence of Texas and the taxation of bank-note circulation.

True and faithful to the policy of settling Oregon Territory with Americans, he favored the Oregon land-donation act of September 27, 1850, and was an earnest advocate of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean.

On February 7, 1849, Senator BENTON asked leave to introduce "A bill to provide for the location and construction of a central national road from the Pacific Ocean to the Mississippi River, with a branch of said road to the Columbia River," and in explanation said:

When we acquired Louisiana Mr. Jefferson revived this idea of establishing an inland communication between the two sides of the continent, and for that purpose the well-known expedition of Lewis and Clarke was sent out by him. * * * About thirty years ago I began to turn my attention to this subject. * * * I followed the idea of Mr. Jefferson, La Salle, and others, and attempted to revive attention to their plans. * * * I then expressed the confident belief that this route would certainly be established immediately with the aid of the American Government, and eventually, even without that aid, by the progress of events and the force of circumstances.

I go for a national highway from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and I go against all schemes of individuals or of companies, and especially those who come here and ask of the Congress of the United States to give themselves and their assigns the means of making a road and taxing the people for the use of it. * * * I propose to reserve ground for all sorts of roads, railway, plank, macadamized. More than that, room for a track by magnetic power, according to the idea stated, I believe, by Professor Henry, and, to me, plausibly pursued by Professor Page, of the Patent Office, if that idea ripens into practicability, and who can undertake to say that any idea will not become practicable in the present age? * * *

An American road to India through the heart of our country will revive upon its line all the wonders of which we have read and eclipse them. The western wilderness from the Pacific to the Mississippi will start into life under its touch. A long line of cities will grow up. Existing cities will take a new start. The state of the world calls for a new road to India, and it is our destiny to give it, the last and greatest. Let us act up to the greatness of the occasion and show ourselves worthy of the extraordinary circumstances in which we are placed by securing, while we can, an American road to India—central and national—for ourselves and our posterity, now and hereafter, for thousands of years to come.

He advocated the right of preemption to settlers upon the public lands, to induce their occupation by individuals, and the graduation of the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre to \$1 for all lands in the market undisposed of for ten years, 75 cents per acre for all in market fifteen years, and so on down to 12½ cents per acre.

The graduation act was passed August 4, 1854, while he was a member of the House, and the homestead law was passed May 20, 1862.

During his illustrious career his most prominent characteristics were his devotion to the Union of the States and his burning antipathy to nullification, secession, and any and every other measure that might endanger the Union, and to the recharter of the United States Bank and to the charter of a national bank under President Tyler. He favored the maintenance of the "Missouri Compromise" of 1820, and aggressively opposed its repeal, holding that all measures in that direction were "fire brands," calculated to increase and embitter sectional prejudices, which might lead to disunion.

The friend and defender of President Jackson, he fully sustained him in his firm and unwavering course in regard to the "Nullification ordinance" passed by the State convention of South Carolina on November 24, 1832. Against this nullification ordinance President Jackson issued his celebrated and patriotic proclamation of December 10, 1832, and his message

to Congress of January 16, 1833, both of which found in Mr. BENTON an ardent and able supporter.

During the discussion of these and Mr. Calhoun's nullification resolution Mr. BENTON formed the conclusion that Mr. Calhoun's ulterior object was the dissolution of the Union, and was ever thereafter on the alert for any movement in that direction and ready to combat it.

On January 15, 1849, State Senator C. F. Jackson reported to the senate of the general assembly of Missouri "resolutions on the subject of slavery," known as the "Jackson resolutions," denying any right "on the part of Congress to legislate on the subject so as to affect the institution of slavery in the States, in the District of Columbia, or in the Territories," and asserting "the right to prohibit slavery in any Territory belongs exclusively to the people thereof and can only be exercised by them in forming their constitution for a State government or in their sovereign capacity as an independent State," and "that in the event of the passage of any act of Congress conflicting with the principles herein expressed, Missouri will be found in hearty cooperation with the slaveholding States in such measures as may be found necessary for our mutual protection against the encroachments of Northern fanaticism," and "that our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to act in conformity to the foregoing resolutions."

They were passed by the senate January 26, 1849—yeas, 23; nays, 6—and by the house March 6—yeas, 53; nays 27—after warm and protracted debate in each body.

Senator BENTON's fifth term was to expire on March 3, 1851, and he was a candidate for reelection.

The resolutions were in direct conflict with the opinions of Colonel BENTON, oftentimes expressed during his service, and were advocated by many of those who were well-known opponents of BENTON, and then called anti-BENTON Democrats. A

resolution was then passed requiring a copy of the resolutions to be transmitted to the executive of each State and to each of the Senators and Representatives from Missouri, and was approved March 10, 1849.

They were presented to the Senate of the United States by Senator Atchison, of Missouri, on January 3, 1850, and read by the Secretary and ordered printed.

When read, Senator BENTON addressed the Senate, strongly opposing the principles and policies therein expressed. He said:

This is the proper time for me to say what I believe to be the fact, that these resolutions do not express the sentiments of the people of Missouri. They are a law-abiding and a Union-loving people, and have no idea of entering into combinations to resist or to intimidate the legislation of Congress. The general assembly has mistaken the sentiment of the State in adopting these resolutions, and many members who voted for them, and the governor who signed them, have since disavowed and repudiated them.

Senator Atchison said:

I have but one word to say, and that is merely to express an opinion that the people of the State of Missouri, when the time arrives, will prove to all mankind that every sentiment contained in these resolutions, from first to last, will be sustained by them.

I quote from the History of Missouri, by Col. William F. Switzler, one the oldest and most prominent newspaper editors of the State, then actively in politics and a Whig, who, in writing of the excitement over the passage of the resolutions, says:

The popular ferment was much increased by the subsequent course of Colonel BENTON. He opposed the resolutions, appealed from the legislature to the people, and on the 26th of May, 1849, in the hall of the house at Jefferson City, opened a canvass against them which set the State ablaze. He maintained that the spirit of nullification and disunion, of insubordination to law, and of treason lurked in the Jackson resolutions, especially in the fifth; that they were a mere copy of the Calhoun resolutions offered in the United States Senate February 19, 1847, and denounced by him at the time as firebrands and intended for disunion and electioneering purposes.

He could see no difference between them but in the time contemplated for dissolving the Union, Mr. Calhoun's tending "directly" and the Jackson Missouri resolutions "ultimately" to that point. He maintained they were in conflict with the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and with the resolutions passed by the Missouri legislature February 15, 1847, wherein it was declared that "the peace, permanency, and welfare of our National Union depend upon a strict adherence to the letter and spirit" of that compromise, also instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress on all questions which may come before them in relation to the organization of new Territories or States to vote in accordance with its provisions. He denounced them as entertaining the covert purpose of ultimately dissolving the National Union and of misleading the people of Missouri into cooperation with the slaveholding States for that purpose.

During his extensive canvass of the State in 1849 he delivered many able and exhaustive speeches, often interspersed with bitter denunciations and withering sarcasm, being master of both.

The result was a division of the Democratic party, which for thirty years had loyally supported him, into two factions, usually called Benton and anti-Benton Democrats, and his defeat for reelection.

After his service in the House of Representatives, March 4, 1853, to March 3, 1855, and his defeat for reelection in 1854, he was the candidate of his wing of the Democratic party for governor in 1856, and was defeated by Truett Polk, of the anti-Benton wing. This was his last political campaign.

He was a close, laborious, and constant student from boyhood to his death, and acquired and possessed a greater fund of information and knowledge, general and historical, than any statesman of our country, from which he drew largely in his discussions of all questions.

Apace with his increasing years he grew in knowledge and foresight and in his uncompromising devotion to what he honestly believed to be the very best interests of our common country and the toiling millions of our people, and was the friend of the people. Believing he was right, he never stopped

to count the strength of the opposition, but moved to the attack with unyielding determination and renewed force. General BLAIR was selected to deliver the address at the unveiling of the Benton statue in St. Louis, and said of Mr. BENTON:

He not only admired and believed in our form of government, but he was of that Democratic school which insisted on restraining the Government in the exercise of its powers to a strict and literal interpretation of the Constitution, not only because they believed the framers of the Government were wise and sagacious men and knew how to employ language to describe the powers which they sought to confer on the Government, but they were upon principle opposed to a strong government, and sought in every way to limit its powers and to make each of the different branches a check upon the others. They were profoundly convinced that "the world was governed too much," and that the best government was that which least intermeddled with the affairs of the citizens. There never lived a man with more instinctive patriotism than BENTON. He was a man of strong, sometimes of unruly, passions, but his paramount passion was love of country.

He devoted to his country the best and ablest efforts of his life.

His untiring industry and close application enabled him to complete the two volumes of *Thirty Years in the United States Senate*, styled by him "*The Thirty Years' View*," and sixteen volumes of the *Abridgment of the Debates in Congress*, from 1789 to 1856, both of which are invaluable publications and will be read and referred to by students and statesmen in coming ages. He was strictly temperate in all his habits—a splendid exemplar for the young men of our country.

In his autobiographical sketch in "*The Thirty Years' View*," referring to his entrance in the Senate, he writes:

From that time his life was in the public eye and the bare enumeration of the measures of which he was the author and the prime mover would be almost a history of Congress legislation. The enumeration is unnecessary here, the long list is known throughout the length and breadth of the land—repeated with the familiarity of household words from the great cities on the seaboard to the lonely cabins on the frontier—and studied by the little boys, who feel an honorable ambition beginning to stir within their bosoms and a laudable desire to learn something of the history of their country.

These expressions of self-adulation may be overlooked in a statesman of his unblemished character for integrity, his acknowledged abilities and attainments, and his useful, patriotic, and illustrious career; while in men of smaller caliber they would become ridiculous and justly offensive.

Great as he was, strong-willed and ambitious, he could not in his younger days divest himself of the influence of his environments and restrain his anger. He was imbued with a fearlessness and courage, physical and moral, never questioned, and became involved in personal difficulties about which I quote from his autobiography.

While in the early part of life at Nashville and at St. Louis duels and affrays were common, and the young BENTON had his share of them. A very violent affray between himself and brother on one side and General Jackson and some friends on the other, in which severe pistol and dagger wounds were given, but fortunately without loss of life; and the only use for which that violent collision now finds a reference is in its total oblivion by the parties and the cordiality with which they acted together for the public good in their subsequent long and intimate career. A duel at St. Louis ended fatally, of which Colonel BENTON has not been heard to speak except among intimate friends and to tell of the pang which went through his heart when he saw the young man fall, and would have given the world to see him restored to life. As the proof of the manner in which he looks upon all these scenes and his desire to bury all remembrance of them forever he has had all the papers burned which relate to them, that no future curiosity or industry should bring to light what he wishes had never happened.

Colonel BENTON was married, after becoming Senator, to Elizabeth, daughter of Col. James McDowell, of Rockbridge County, Va., and of Sarah, his wife, born Sarah Preston.

Of his wife he says:

She was a woman of singular merit, judgment, elevation of character, and regard for every social duty, crowned by a life-long connection with the church in which she was bred—the Presbyterian Old School. Mrs. Benton died in 1854, having been struck with paralysis in 1844, and from that time her husband was never known to go to any place of festivity or amusement.

Of his devotion to his wife I quote from General BLAIR's address:

I trust that I may not be thought to tread on ground too holy in alluding to the gentle care, the touching solicitude, with which he guarded the last feeble pulses of life in her who was the pride and glory of his young ambition, the sweet ornament of his mature fame, and best love of his ripened age.

Full of years, full of honors, this illustrious statesman, on April 10, 1858, in this city, passed away from the earthly scenes of his combats and triumphs to life immortal, mourned by a nation.

FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR.

Mr. President, it is eminently proper that the statue of BLAIR should stand by the side of BENTON'S. BLAIR was his most trusted friend and delivered the address on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue erected to his memory in St. Louis.

FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR was born in Lexington, Ky., on the 19th day of February, 1821, and bore his father's honored name.

When he was 9 years old his father removed from Lexington, Ky., to this city to assume editorial control of the *Globe* newspaper, the organ of President Jackson's Administration. He attended Chapel Hill College, North Carolina, and afterwards graduated from Princeton College, studied law in this city, and then returned to Kentucky and continued his studies in the office of Louis Marshall. His health failing, he visited his brother, Montgomery Blair, in St. Louis—afterwards Postmaster-General under President Lincoln—and then returned to Kentucky and graduated from Transylvania University law school. He then opened a law office in St. Louis and there ever after made his home.

His health again failing, he made a trip to the Rocky Mountains, and in 1845 accompanied Bent and St. Vrain to their

post in New Mexico, now Colorado, and was there when the war with Mexico began and took an active part in the military operations under Gen. Stephen W. Kearny.

On August 22, 1846, General Kearny issued his remarkable proclamation, after having taken possession of the capital—Santa Fe—of the Department of New Mexico on August 18.

On September 22, 1846, he published an "Organic law for the Territory of New Mexico, compiled under the direction of General Kearny," and on the same day wrote to the Adjutant-General, saying:

I take great pleasure in stating that I am entirely indebted for these laws to Col. A. W. Doniphan, of the First Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers, who received much assistance from Private Willard P. Hall, of his regiment.

On the same day he appointed a governor and other officers, among them "FRANCIS P. BLAIR, to be United States district attorney."

If he ever accepted the appointment, he only held it for a few days, as Hugh N. Smith was appointed to that position on October 1, 1846, and claims to have acted for two years and four months, although the offices of United States district attorney and marshal "were considered as abolished by instructions from the War Department bearing date January 11, 1847."

In 1847 he returned and resumed the practice of his profession, and married Miss Apolline Alexander, of Woodford County, Ky., on September 8, 1847.

In 1852 he was elected a representative from St. Louis in the Seventeenth general assembly of Missouri, and was reelected in 1854, and was again elected in 1870.

In 1856 he was elected a Representative in Congress as a Republican, and was in 1858 a candidate for reelection and was defeated by J. R. Barrett, Democrat, and contested Mr. Barrett's election, and was given the seat June 8, 1860, by yeas

93, nays 91, and served until that session of the Thirty-sixth Congress adjourned, June 25, 1860. Feeling himself vindicated, he resigned his seat for the remainder of the term—the last session of the Thirty-sixth Congress.

In the summer of 1860, in the election for the remainder of the term in the Thirty-sixth Congress and for the full term in the Thirty-seventh Congress, he was defeated by Mr. Barrett for the short term and elected by a large majority over Mr. Barrett for the term in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and was reelected to the Thirty-eighth Congress, March 4, 1863, to March 3, 1865. His election was contested by Mr. Samuel Knox, who was on June 10, 1864, declared entitled to the seat by yeas 70, nays 53, and was sworn in and seated June 15. This contest was pending in the House from the beginning of the session.

When the session began BLAIR was a major-general of volunteers in the field, commanding a corps, and about the last days of October, 1863, his brother, Hon. Montgomery Blair, consulted President Lincoln as to his wishes whether General BLAIR should take his seat in Congress or remain in the field.

On November 2, 1863, President Lincoln wrote Hon. Montgomery Blair:

My wish, then, is compounded of what I believe will be best for the country and best for him, and it is that he will come here, put his military commission in my hands, take his seat, go into caucus with our friends, abide the nominations, help elect the nominees, and thus aid to organize a House of Representatives which will really support the Government in the war. If the result shall be the election of himself as Speaker, let him serve in that position; if not, let him retake his commission and return to the Army. * * * He is rising in military skill and usefulness. His recent appointment to the command of a corps by one so competent to judge as General Sherman proves this. In that line he can serve both the country and himself more profitably than he could as a member of Congress upon the floor. The foregoing is what I would say if FRANK BLAIR were my brother instead of yours.

General BLAIR, on January 1, 1864, tendered his resignation as a major-general, United States Volunteers, which was accepted January 12, 1864.

On March 15, 1864, President Lincoln suggested to Lieutenant-General Grant the assignment of General BLAIR to the command of a corps. On March 30 General Grant telegraphed General Sherman: "Gen. F. P. BLAIR will be assigned to the Seventeenth Corps, and not the Fifteenth." On April 9, General Grant telegraphed General Halleck, chief of staff, to ascertain if General BLAIR was to be sent to General Sherman.

On April 20 General BLAIR wrote to President Lincoln requesting assignment to the command of the Seventeenth Corps, and on the 21st the President referred the same to "Honorable Secretary of War: Please have General Halleck make the proper order in this case."

On April 23 General BLAIR wrote the Secretary of War:

I respectfully request to withdraw my resignation as major-general of the United States Volunteers, tendered on the 12th day of January, 1864.

And President Lincoln wrote the Secretary of War April 23:

According to our understanding with Maj. Gen. FRANK P. BLAIR at the time he took his seat in Congress last winter, he now asks to withdraw his resignation as major-general, then tendered, and be sent to the field. Let this be done. Let the order sending him be such as shown me to-day by the Adjutant-General, only dropping from it the names of Maguire and Tompkins.

The order assigning him to the Seventeenth Army Corps was made that day.

The records of the War Department show "that FRANK P. BLAIR was mustered into service to take effect April 26, 1861, as colonel First Missouri Militia, to serve three years. This regiment was reorganized as the First Missouri Infantry Volunteers, and Colonel BLAIR was mustered into service with the regiment upon its reorganization, June 26, 1861, to take effect

June 12, 1861, to serve three years. After this muster into service as colonel for three years, he repaired to Washington, D. C., and took his seat as a member of Congress from the State of Missouri July 4, 1861, and served as chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives. It does not appear that he thereafter rejoined his regiment, the designation of which was changed September or October, 1861, to the First Regiment Missouri Light Artillery.

"On July 4, 1862, the Secretary of War authorized him to organize a brigade of volunteers, and he was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers August 7, 1862, and accepted the appointment August 21, 1862. He was commissioned major-general of volunteers March 13, 1863, to rank from November 29, 1862, and accepted the commission April 6, 1863, and was honorably discharged the service, to take effect November 1, 1865, in orders dated October 28, 1865, upon tender of his resignation.

"During the period of his service as brigadier-general and major-general of volunteers he was in command of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, Right Wing, Thirteenth Army Corps, of the First Brigade, First Division, Fifteenth Army Corps, of the Seventeenth Army Corps, and of the Department of Missouri, participating in the siege of Vicksburg and of Atlanta and in Sherman's march to the sea. A leave of absence was granted him September 15, 1864, and during the remainder of September and the month of October, 1864, he was engaged in organizing the defenses of the city of St. Louis, Mo."

March 14, 1866, he was nominated by President Johnson for collector of internal revenue, First Missouri district, and his nomination referred to committee March 16, 1866, and reported favorably by Senator Fessenden April 10, and rejected May 4, 1866—yeas 8, nays 21.

On March 25, 1867, President Johnson sent his nomination for minister to Austria to the Senate, vice Edgar Cowan, rejected. Senator Sumner on the same day reported the nomination adversely, and it was rejected March 28—yeas 5, nays 35.

He was afterwards appointed a commissioner of the Pacific Railroad, of the construction of which he had always been an able and earnest advocate. At the national Democratic convention at New York, in the summer of 1868, he was nominated for Vice-President of the United States on the ticket with Governor Horatio Seymour for President, and was defeated. Elected to the general assembly of Missouri in 1870, which met in 1871, he was in the same month elected to fill the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the resignation on December 13, 1870, to take effect on December 19, 1870, of Senator Charles D. Drake, to accept an appointment to the Court of Claims.

He was sworn in and took his seat in the Senate on January 25, 1871, for the unexpired term ending March 3, 1873. He participated actively in behalf of Horace Greeley for President and B. Gratz Brown for Vice-President in the campaign of 1872.

On November 16, 1872, he was stricken down by paralysis, from which he never recovered.

Largely, if not entirely, owing to his stricken condition he was defeated for reelection to the Senate in January, 1873.

There were three distictively marked periods in the life of General BLAIR which make him illustrious for historic renown and for distinguished civic services.

The first period extends to the beginning of the civil war, the second to the close of that war, and the third to his death.

He was a Southern man by birth, family connection, and

residence; the young friend of President Jackson, during whose Administration he was of the susceptible and formative age, and imbibed largely of his views on national and political questions. He was the friend of, and unfaltering in his devotion to, the principles and policies of BENTON, whose mantle fell upon his shoulders—a Democrat of the Jackson, Benton, and Van Buren school.

In 1848, when the "Wilmot proviso" agitated the country, he took a decided stand in favor of the free-soil movement and against the nominees of the Democratic party for President and Vice-President, opposed the extension of slavery, and argued and labored to remove slavery from Missouri.

He warmly espoused the cause of BENTON in his appeal from the Jackson resolutions to the people, and in 1852 was elected to the legislature on the BENTON ticket. In 1856 he was elected to Congress as a Republican from a slave State.

He fearlessly maintained his opposition to slavery extension and advocacy of removing slavery from Missouri, notwithstanding the censure and obloquy attached to such a course in a slave State, and established a high character for moral courage and great ability.

His greatest prescience and force of character were made manifest when the lowering clouds of civil war portended a dissolution of the Union. Equally with Jackson and BENTON, uncompromising in his devotion to the Union and in opposition to nullification or secession, he foresaw plainly that war was inevitable and began preparations in advance of hostilities and organized the "Wideawakes" in St. Louis, and other forces. He was the soul, the will, the controlling power of the Union men in Missouri, determined at all hazards and all risks that Missouri should stand by the Union.

Believing that the State administration, under Governor

Claiborne F. Jackson, who had, as a State senator, reported the Jackson resolutions, was aiming to lead Missouri into cooperation with the seceding States, and having the confidence of President Lincoln, he determined to drive the administration from the State, and, as the adviser and coleader with General Lyon, the United States Army officer placed in command through his influence, had United States forces marched into Missouri from St. Louis, as the center, and from Leavenworth, Kans., on the west, and quickly occupied the railroads and the Missouri River. He to a greater extent than any other man held Missouri in allegiance to the Union and caused her to contribute to the Union armies 108,773 soldiers (a greater number than any of the States except New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Massachusetts), as brave and fearless as those from any State and surpassed by none.

Not only this, but by the heroic movements he inspired Missouri was prevented from cooperation with the seceding States to the full extent of the sympathy of her people.

During the four long, weary years of that war of the wars of all the ages, when the citizen soldiers met each other in fierce combat, with father against son, brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor, and friend against friend, all true to their honest convictions, BLAIR never said "go," but always "come."

He displayed remarkable military abilities and skill, and justly rose to the highest rank in the volunteer service, surpassed by none and equaled only by one—Maj. Gen. John A. Logan.

With the close of the war began the third marked epoch in General BLAIR'S illustrious career, during which he displayed a moral courage and heroism equal to if not greater than that displayed at the beginning of the war.

A State convention assembled in Jefferson City September 1, 1863, and passed resolutions requesting Governor Gamble and

Lieutenant-Governor Hall to vacate their positions and urging the President to remove General Schofield from the command of the department, and appointed a committee of seventy to present their grievances to the President.

The committee presented their address to the President on September 30, 1863, and four supplementary addresses on October 3. The President replied on October 5. The demands, as epitomized by the President in his reply, were:

First. That General Schofield should be relieved and General Butler be appointed as commander of the military department of Missouri.

Second. That the system of enrolled militia in Missouri should be broken up and national forces substituted for it.

Third. That at elections persons might not be allowed to vote who were not entitled by law to do so.

The President's reply shows clearly the conditions then and subsequently existing in Missouri. He said:

We are in civil war. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely, but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union *with* but not *without* slavery, those for it *without* but not *with*, those for it *with* or *without* but prefer it *with*, and those for it *with* or *without* but prefer it *without*. Among these, again, is a subdivision of those who are for *gradual* but not for *immediate*, and those who are for *immediate* but not for *gradual* extinction of slavery.

It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet all being for the Union, by reason of these differences each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity is questioned and motives assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures, deemed indispensable but harsh at best, such men make worse by maladministration. Murders for old grudges and murders for pelf proceed

under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any general.

The President refused the first and second demands and concurred in the third. The bitterness and contentions among the Union men, divided into Conservatives and Radicals, subsequently called Democrats and Republicans, increased. So, also, between the Union and Southern men. On January 6, 1865, a State constitutional convention assembled in St. Louis, adopted an ordinance abolishing slavery in Missouri, which as a practical fact had ceased to exist for some time previous, and adopted a constitution to be submitted to a vote of the people on June 6, 1865, for adoption or rejection, which was adopted by 43,670 votes for to 41,808 against it; majority, 1,862. The convention adjourned April 10, 1865.

This constitution by proclamation of the governor took effect July 4, 1865, was called the Drake constitution, from Hon. Charles D. Drake, vice-president of the convention, and its reputed author.

It contained the most stringent and proscriptive provisions in regard to the test oaths required of voters—persons capable of holding any office or position of honor, trust, or profit, State, corporate, municipal, institutional, or fiduciary, and of attorneys, and teachers in our schools, male and female, and even ministers of the gospel of peace and good will.

General BLAIR took a bold and fearless stand against such measures and all proscription, refused to take the oath in order to vote, and brought suit in the courts to test his right. With General BLAIR the Union was the main question. When the Union arms had triumphed, an indissoluble Union of indestructible States had been secured, secession with slavery and all opposition to the Union had been forever buried in the

grave of the dead Confederacy beyond resurrection, and our old flag waved in honor, glory, and power from ocean to ocean, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, every tongue confessing and every knee bowing to its peaceful and rightful sway, General BLAIR believed that humanity, Christianity, the wisest statesmanship, as well as the very best interests of our common country, demanded peace, reconciliation, and fraternity, that the wounds and bruises of the war might be healed, its wastes and devastations repaired, and our people, North and South, East and West, become one people, citizens of our common country in fact as in law, with like sympathies, feelings, aspirations, interests, and rights. He did not believe that proscription was the proper method to such ends.

He warmly supported General Grant's intercession in behalf of General Lee and other paroled Confederate officers and soldiers on the ground that their paroles, so long as they obeyed the laws, protected them from arrest and trial.

General BLAIR'S efforts to restore to the proscribed people of Missouri equal rights of citizenship were equally as heroic and fearless as were his efforts to preserve the integrity of the Union and to overthrow all opposition to it.

So intense and embittered were the feelings of the extreme radical element in many counties that freedom of public discussion did not exist, and public meetings were broken up and threats made that no Democrat should address them.

General BLAIR, in the early summer of 1866, made a series of speeches in many different counties in Missouri. At many places efforts were made to break up his meetings and prevent him speaking and even to take him from the stand. He never quailed nor flinched, but boldly and defiantly denounced those creating the disturbances in the bitterest and most withering terms, and never failed to speak as long as he chose and to say

whatever he pleased, and by these efforts removed every hindrance to the utmost freedom of public discussion ever thereafter. I refer to these incidents in his illustrious life to show his heroic and courageous nature and his uncompromising devotion to what he believed to be right, and not to revive the dead embers of hate and bitterness engendered by that fratricidal war, for "anathema maranatha" be to him who would rekindle the dead embers of hate and sectional animosities.

In addressing a large public audience in Memphis, Tenn., on September 20, 1866, General BLAIR said:

The utmost freedom of public discussion is the rock upon which all true liberty is founded. If that great bulwark is overthrown, or if public speakers seek only to express such views as are in accordance with public sentiment, the way is thrown wide open to the destruction of every guaranty of freedom. Hence I regard it as unworthy of myself and especially dishonoring to you to attempt an apology for anything I may advance because it may not meet your concurrence.

General BLAIR was a dutiful son, a loving, faithful husband, a kind and affectionate father, a true, steadfast friend, generous to a fault and often to his pecuniary loss, genial and attractive in his personality, forceful and impressive as a speaker, personally and officially honest and incorruptible, without even the suspicion of a stain upon his integrity.

He was open, frank, bold, and aggressive in the expression of his views and the advocacy of his principles, whether popular or obnoxious at the time, and yet so tempered them with geniality and magnanimity that few could keep from admiring him and few indeed were his personal enemies.

The good people of Missouri have erected a pure standard bronze statue of General BLAIR in Forest Park, St. Louis, of heroic size, to perpetuate the remembrance and appreciation of his great abilities and his distinguished services to our common country and to his adopted State.

I quote from the address of Rev. Dr. T. M. Post on the occasion of the unveiling of that statue:

Happy is it when, from an heroic grave, there is an outlook to the land immortal, and loyalty to country is consummated in loyalty to God — happy for our personal love and for our hope for our country. We believe a truth from a higher world came to our friend in that solemn, serene, and utterly real realm that lay, through months and seasons, before the open gates of the Everlasting; that in those solemn hours when time's shadows flee away and its pomp and pride are but pageants of a passing dream voices came to him from out eternity and the Highest revealed Himself, and that the lesson and confession of allegiance to the Eternal One came in to correct and consummate the utterances of his life. That lesson and confession are among the things that shall not pass away. The heroic form typed by yonder statue years ago crumbled into dust, the bronze and the granite shall in time follow; but this last utterance is above and beyond change, a truth and a force which, we trust, shall blend with the destinies of this nation forever.

ADDRESS OF MR. HOAR, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. President, it is hardly necessary, after the wonderfully eloquent and ample tribute in memory of these two sons of Missouri, that any other voice should be heard. I have been asked, however, because, as I suppose, I represent in part that section of the Union farthest in situation and farthest in opinion from the people whom BENTON loved and served, to say a few words in support of the resolution, and especially with reference to him.

The statute of 1862 which sets apart the beautiful chamber in the Capitol as a gallery for the statues of famous citizens leaves the selection to the absolute discretion of the States. But the whole country approves the choice of Missouri.

The whole country remembers freshly the great career, the chivalrous character, the dauntless spirit of BLAIR. But when the figure of BENTON is unveiled the genius of Missouri—rather, the genius of the West—has come. He is to stand among his peers, the representative, the embodiment, of a great history. He remembered the men of the Revolution. He was born before the war of the Revolution ended. He lived to greet Charles Sumner when he came into the Senate, to survive all the great leaders of the time before the war, and to see the sure signs of the coming conflict of arms between freedom and slavery.

Missouri did well that she waited nearly half a century after his death before electing him to the greater and perpetual Senate, which is to sit forever in yonder chamber. It would be well if this example were always followed. No party spirit, no influence of friendship, no mere personal gratitude, no temporary or fleeting popularity has influenced the choice. We

know now what manner of man Missouri, by her deliberate choice, delighteth to honor and what manner of man the American people delight to honor.

THOMAS H. BENTON was a sturdy and courageous champion. He understood, as no other man ever understood, the interest of the great West. He is, beyond all question, without competitor or rival down to this moment, the foremost statesman of the States beyond the Mississippi. From 1820 to 1850 he was one of the four great leaders of the Senate. If in some special quality he was surpassed by each of the great triumvirate—Webster, Clay, Calhoun—yet neither of these men, perhaps not all together, exerted so powerful an influence upon the action of the Senate or of the people during that time. He was industrious, wasting no moment of time; earnest and indefatigable, pressing like a steel spring upon the armor of his opponent; trying every joint; sure to find the weak spot; untiring; courageous, never shrinking or flinching from the face of any antagonist; unselfish, striving for the public good as he understood it; loving his people, loving his State and section and country, with a supreme and most disinterested love.

The statesman or the student of history to-day can investigate few subjects which interested the people during the first seventy years of our history under the Constitution without coming upon the work of BENTON. By three or four things, however, he is specially known to his countrymen and will keep his place in their undying memory. One is his passionate personal attachment and devotion to Andrew Jackson. Another is his belief in a money of intrinsic value, gold and silver, and his utter detestation and contempt for any substitute of paper or credit. Another is his attachment to the union of the States, an attachment which no party feeling, no feeling as a Southern man, ever for a moment weakened or impaired.

Another was his brave resistance in his early life to the great intellectual champions who were arrayed against him in the Senate; and a resistance, braver still, in his old age, to the currents of popular delirium which swept away his own State and his own party into the attempt to extend slavery, and what he deemed a wicked and unconstitutional war against Mexico.

He was eminently a man of the people. He liked popular applause. He was a man of intense party spirit. Yet he was able to stand alone. He had his foibles, to which his distinguished successor [Mr. Vest] has so well alluded; but, after all, there was never an American citizen to whom that tribute of the Latin poet, often quoted, but which we may well repeat, would better apply:

"Justum ac tenacem propositi virum
Non civium ardor prava jubentium
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,
Dux inquieti turbidus Hadria,
Nec Fulminantis magna manus Jovis;
Si fractus ill datur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinae."

"Integer vite scelerisque purus."

"Cui Pudor, et Justitiae soror,
Incorrupta Fides, nullaue Veritas
Quando nllum inveniet parem?"

He loved Missouri. He loved the West. He loved the South. From his coming into public life—indeed, from his first coming to manhood—there was scarcely a pulsation of the popular Western heart which he did not share. Yet when the time came for him to choose between office, party, his State, popularity, the love of old friends and companions, influence, power, the master passions of his soul, as it seemed, on the one hand, and freedom and country upon the other, he did not

hesitate in the choice. His latest biographer, Governor Roosevelt, describes the conditions that confronted BENTON when the decline of his life came on. BENTON had resisted what to most men in a republic is irresistible—the passions excited by a great war, the stirring and excited appeals to the love of the flag, the Anglo-Saxon greed for empire, as well as the spirit of a party of which he had been, for more than a generation, the greatest leader in the State of which he was the brightest ornament and foremost citizen.

Governor Roosevelt, writing in 1895, a little more than four years ago, described the public feeling which Mr. BENTON had to encounter, and gives due praise to the lofty and noble courage with which he encountered it. He says:

The man of the West stood where he was because he was a conqueror; he had wrested his land by force from its rightful Indian lords; he fully intended to repeat the same feat as soon as he should reach the Spanish lands lying to the west and southwest; he would have done so in the case of French Louisiana if it had not been that the latter was purchased and was thus saved from being taken by force of arms. This belligerent or, more properly speaking, piratical way of looking at neighboring territory was very characteristic of the West and was at the root of the doctrine of "manifest destiny."

Governor Roosevelt goes on:

The general feeling in the West upon this last subject afterwards crystallized into what became known as the "manifest destiny" idea, which, reduced to its simplest terms, was that it was our manifest destiny to swallow up the land of all adjoining nations who were too weak to withstand us; a theory that forthwith obtained immense popularity among all statesmen of easy international morality.

Governor Roosevelt states Mr. BENTON's doctrine upon this question, and the doctrine of the conscience and morality of the American people of that day, as follows:

Of course no one would wish to see these, or any other settled communities, now added to our domain by force; we want no unwilling citizens to enter our Union; the time to have taken the lands was before settlers came into them. European nations war for the possession of thickly settled districts, which, if conquered, will for centuries remain alien and hostile to the conquerors; we, wiser in our generation, have seized the waste solitudes that lay near us, the limitless forests and never-ending plains, and

the valleys of the great, lonely rivers, and have thrust our own sons into them to take possession; and a score of years after each conquest we see the conquered land teeming with a people that is one with ourselves.

Governor Roosevelt states this issue between imperialism, or, as he terms it, "the piratical way of looking at neighboring territory by statesmen of easy international morality," on the one side, and Republicanism on the other, as represented by Mr. Clay on the one hand and Mr. Polk on the other. He says:

Almost every good element in the country stood behind Clay; the vast majority of intelligent, high-minded, upright men supported him.

He adds:

Three men—Calhoun, Birney, and Isaiah Rynders—may be taken as types of the classes that were chiefly instrumental in the election of Polk, and that must therefore bear the responsibility for all the evils attendant thereon, including among them the bloody and unrighteous war with Mexico.

The worthy biographer quotes, with emphatic approbation, BENTON's indignant denunciation, when the Mexican war was approaching, of the want of manliness in our treatment of a weak republic. He says:

Would we take 2,000 miles of Canada in the same way? I presume not. And why not? Why not treat Great Britain and Mexico alike? Why not march up to "fifty-four-forty" as courageously as we marched upon the Rio Grande? Because Great Britain is powerful and Mexico is weak, a reason which may fail in policy as much as in morals.

Mr. BENTON himself adds upon this subject:

I am against all disguise and artifice, against all pretexts, and especially weak and groundless pretexts, discreditable to ourselves and offensive to others; too thin and shallow not to be seen through by every beholder, and merely invented to cover unworthy purposes.

Governor Roosevelt speaks of this period of BENTON's life with zealous and eloquent approbation. He says:

He had now entered on what may be fairly called the heroic part of his career; for it would be difficult to choose any other word to express our admiration for the unflinching and defiant courage with which, supported only by conscience and by his loving loyalty to the Union, he battled for the losing side, although by so doing he jeopardized and eventually ruined

his political prospects, being finally, as punishment for his boldness in opposing the dominant faction of the Missouri Democracy, turned out of the Senate, wherein he had passed nearly half his life. Indeed, he was one of those natures that show better in defeat than in victory.

Mr. BENTON's opposition to the Mexican war was followed by his opposition after it ended to any form of the extension of slavery, which he declared he deemed an evil and "would neither adopt it nor impose it on others."

When the fugitive-slave act of 1850 was passed, through the help of some Northern votes, BENTON refused to support it; and this was the last act of importance that he performed as a United States Senator. He had risen and grown steadily all through his long term of service; and during its last period he did greater service to the nation than any of his fellow-Senators. * * * He always rose to meet a really great emergency; he kept doing continually better work throughout his term of public service, or showed himself able to rise to a higher level at the very end than at the beginning.

This is the character, Mr. President, which the great State of Missouri, speaking through her governor and honored Senators, gives to the American people to-day, in this time of her sober second thought, as the best she has to offer. If it be the best she have to offer, no other State surely has anything better. We are likely to receive nothing better from any quarter. Certainly Massachusetts feels herself and her great children of the days of the Puritan and the days of the Revolution honored by the companionship. Sam Adams, if need be, will draw a thought more nigh to John Winthrop to make room for him. Webster will greet his old antagonist. The marble lips of Charles Sumner, whom BENTON welcomed in the Senate in 1851, will return the greeting now from yonder stately antechamber. The old strifes are forgotten. The old differences have vanished. But the love of liberty, the love of justice, the love of national honor, the spirit that prizes liberty and justice and honor above gain or trade or empire—the spirit of this great statesman of the West—abides and shall abide forever more.

ADDRESS OF MR. ELKINS, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

Mr. President, reared and educated in Missouri, I feel a deep interest in everything which concerns that great Commonwealth. Added to this, because of my father's great loyalty to and admiration for Mr. BENTON I wear his honored name. I feel, partly for this reason and others, that I can not allow this occasion which helps perpetuate his fame to pass without a word from me.

I will have but little to say about his life and public services, because they have been dwelt upon in the eloquent speeches of the honored Senators from Missouri just pronounced in the Senate.

No man ever dominated a political party more than Mr. BENTON did the Democratic party of the State of Missouri from 1820 to 1850. His hold was so great on the Democrats of that State during this period that he hardly asked to be reelected to his high office—his party thrust his election upon him. Once in two or three years he made what might be called BENTON's triumphal progress through the State, and told the multitudes who came out to greet him and hear him speak what "I, THOMAS H. BENTON," had done as their public servant in the Senate of the United States for the State of Missouri and the whole country.

BENTON's greatest weakness was his vanity and egotism, so seldom united with genuine ability and merit. But in BENTON this weakness was pardonable and forgotten, because it laid alongside so much merit and virtue, such great integrity, loyalty, and unselfish devotion to his country and its best interests. Listening to his speeches on the hustings and remembering the great services he had rendered his State and the country,

people forgot his vanity, although he constantly referred to himself and what he had accomplished. In his "Thirty Years' View"—the best political history of that period ever written—he never fails to make mention of what Mr. BENTON did and give him the fullest credit.

He was not the equal of Clay as an orator, nor of Webster as a constitutional lawyer, but he was greater than either in being a many-sided statesman, in understanding the wants and needs of the whole country, especially those of the West. No statesman during his time or since has had as clear a conception of the possibilities of the great West beyond the Mississippi River, and especially that part which came to us by the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, as BENTON. It is a historic fact that Webster denounced as worthless the vast territory that came to us through this treaty. He said it never would be useful, could not sustain population, and would be a burden to the General Government; while BENTON foresaw and foretold in the most accurate way its future. Webster's vision did not extend much beyond the Mississippi; he could not see as far as the shores of the Pacific.

BENTON not only saw the Pacific, advocated a Pacific railroad, and said it would be built one day, but he saw with an unerring eye the road to the Orient, the commerce of the Pacific and our trade with Asia, which is just beginning. The mighty events that are so rapidly crowding upon us are verifying his prophecies as to the possibilities of trade and commerce with the islands of the Pacific and the Orient. No American statesman ever advocated and proposed so many public measures that were beneficial and affected the welfare and destiny of the whole country as BENTON.

He was the best-informed man of his time on questions growing out of the public lands, Indian affairs, and mines. This

was not altogether due to his ability and persevering industry, but he enjoyed the advantage over other statesmen of living beyond the Mississippi and learned lessons of wisdom from the trappers, miners, and pathfinders of the Rocky Mountains who made frequent visits to St. Louis from the West as far as Oregon. He was acquainted with all these daring and adventurous spirits, among them the Astors, who told him of the wealth of the Rocky Mountains and the climate and soil of the Pacific coast, now occupied by prosperous States. He not only understood the West, but favored all measures looking to its development.

Twenty years after BENTON's prophecy that a Pacific railroad would be built across the continent uniting the two oceans, even General Sherman doubted that it would ever be accomplished, and, with all his knowledge of the West, said a Pacific railroad was impracticable.

Though a Southern man, BENTON persistently opposed the extension of slavery into the Territories, and in the early talks about secession and the mutterings of discontent on the part of slaveholders and nullifiers and threats of the dissolution of the Union, BENTON stood like a stone wall against all these evil and pernicious things.

He was the last link between the makers of the Constitution and the present era; he reached from Jefferson to Sumner. An incessant worker, tireless and persistent, he never gave up a purpose when adopted after mature consideration. He was so sensitive in the discharge of his public duties that he would not appoint a relative to office, no matter how great his merit and qualifications.

When elected to the Senate he was the leading lawyer of St. Louis, and engaged in the heaviest litigation in the State, notably that growing out of the public lands and grants of land

made by France, which was the most important and paid the best fees. After his election to the Senate he called his clients together and gave up all his land cases, stating that their interests might conflict with those of the General Government and his duty as a Senator. He did this when to have continued as attorney would have made him a rich man for those times. He not only gave up these cases, but refused to name any lawyer to take charge of them.

BENTON stood for sound money and the faithful performance of all national obligations. He favored a liberal distribution of the public lands and selling them to actual settlers at a very low price. Although this policy was strongly opposed by the Eastern States, yet after a struggle covering many years he secured its adoption. He was the author of the preemption system.

When he was the leader of the Jacksonian Democrats in the Senate he opposed the spoils system and favored the merit system.

As a Senator BENTON never could be swerved from his public duty as he understood it. He lived up to his convictions and voted according to the lights before him and his best judgment, without regard to the consequences to himself. With him personal appeals against duty fell upon deaf ears. His patriotism was as broad as the Union and knew no section. While he stood for the whole country, he always supported and defended the West and Western interests. Better than any statesman of his time he understood the grandeur, power, and glory of the great Republic, its possibilities, certain progress, growth, and expansion in trade and commerce.

He mastered nearly all the economical and political problems that affected in any way the Union and the whole country. He had but little regard for foreign things and foreign countries, and ignored their claims everywhere and whenever in

conflict with those of the United States. Especially was he opposed to the pretensions and claims of Great Britain, and constantly fought British influence on this continent. His Americanism was intense, and his love of the Union, with its manifold blessings and splendid future, so clear to his vision, was his grand passion.

In a service in the Senate of thirty years, covering most exciting times, his integrity was never questioned. Honesty of purpose characterized all of his official acts. He was satisfied to be a Senator of the United States and never tried to be President. He knew that many leading statesmen had been dwarfed and enfeebled by pandering to popular favor to reach the Presidency. This dementia never reached BENTON; therefore he was always able to act up to his convictions and follow his best judgment on all public questions. His public life and services, his rectitude and singleness of purpose, his unselfishness, as well as his perseverance and industry, furnish an example and pattern worthy of imitation. Taking BENTON all in all during his thirty years' service in the Senate, he was the most important factor in the general legislation of the country.

It is a remarkable fact, alike honorable and creditable to the intelligence and fairness of the people of Missouri, that, though a slave-holding State and favoring strongly the cause of the South in the civil war, its legislature should have voted that BENTON and BLAIR, with their splendid records and achievements in favor of the Union and against secession and the extension of slavery, were of all other statesmen most deserving to have a place in the Hall of great and famous men in the nation's Capitol.

GEN. FRANCIS P. BLAIR

Was both a soldier and a statesman; his name and fame sheds luster on the history of Missouri. His services in behalf of the Union can never be forgotten. Through his ability and prompt action as an officer of the Army the first year of the war Missouri was saved to Federal control and authority during the entire war.

For his splendid services in behalf of his State and country, both in peace and war, he deserves a place by the side of BENTON.

Mr. COCKRELL. Mr. President, I move the adoption of the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives.

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

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